

THE XXth CENTURY

Vol. III

SHANGHAI, AUGUST/SEPTEMBER 1942

No. 2/3

THE FIRST FRONT

By KLAUS MEHNERT

Much has been said and written during the last few months about the problem of a second front—where it should be established, when, by whom, and with what aim. But there has been no discussion about the first front. What it consists of is so obvious to everyone that the expression "first front" does not even exist. It is the front that reaches from Murmansk to the strait of Kertch.

The war of the European armies against the Soviet Union represents the greatest sequence of the greatest battles in history. In masses of men and material involved, in the extent of destruction and in number of prisoners, and, above all, in its significance for the future of mankind it overshadows everything the world has hitherto experienced. For uncounted millions of inhabitants of Europe and the Soviet Union it is the primary subject of their thoughts. It is their first thought in the morning and their last thought before falling asleep. But also for the remaining part of humanity which is not directly involved this is the first front of our times.

Yet the course of the war on the eastern European front is less known than the campaigns from 1939 to 1941. These latter were of short duration and took place in a small area that afforded a good view of the whole. Even without special study, any newspaper reader could reproduce the course of the Norwegian or French campaign. The theater of war in Eastern Europe, however, is so vast, the territory so unfamiliar to most people, and the duration of the battle so much longer that it is far more difficult to gain a clear conception of the developments there. Add to this that the war on the eastern front has not yet been ended. Hence comparatively little material for its study is available. Both sides are taciturn and limit themselves in their reports to a minimum of information.

In the following article an attempt has been made to describe the past course of this battle, not its background and origin. Their discussion we leave to later historians who, we feel sure, will come to the verdict that the Führer's decision of June 22, 1941, was justified and right.

To the best of our knowledge, a similar review in English has not yet been published in East Asia. Our map facing page 110 was specially drawn for this article.

WILL anyone of our generation ever forget the fateful moments of our time as he experienced them in his own little life? No, for the rest of his days they will be engraved in every detail on his memory. In the early morning of December 8, 1941, I myself, for instance, first noticed that something unusual was taking place by the fact that my shoes had not been cleaned. I was staying at a German boarding house in Peking at the time, and if the shoes have not been cleaned in the morning in a German boarding house, it means that at least a war must have broken out. Nor will I ever forget

September 3, 1939, when after a hike over the lava of a Hawaiian volcano I heard the British and French declaration of war on Germany over the radio. And even less will I forget that afternoon on June 22, 1941. Together with a friend with whom I had spent several years in the Soviet Union, I had taken a week-end motor trip to the beautiful Izu peninsula. Driving back to Tokyo we noticed a newsboy in a small Japanese town running through the streets with a bunch of bells and a handful of extras and yelling at the top of his voice. Our chauffeur translated the world-shaking contents of his words. Since that day

the war on the European east front has been in all our thoughts, and each of us has, in his own way, tried to gain a picture of its course and its significance.

"KEIL" AND "KESSEL"

When on June 22, 1941, the news of the war flashed around the globe, the world could fairly accurately predict the method that would be used by the German command in this war. It had already proved itself in the campaigns of 1939, 1940, and the spring of 1941, and had been developed to perfection. It consisted of a combination of *Keil* (wedge) and *Kessel* (pocket). It has stamped the warfare in Europe since 1939 to such a degree that we shall employ the German terms. Again and again the same picture presented itself: armored detachments supported by motorized infantry drove one or more *Keils* into the enemy lines; then, through a *Keil* breaking through to a coast or through two *Keils* meeting in a pincer movement, *Kessels* were formed in which the enemy troops were split up by the formation of further, smaller *Kessels* and then destroyed. Later we shall discuss the functioning of the *Keil-Kessel* method in its most outstanding example, the battle of Kiev.

In the eastern war the German methods themselves were not new. What was new was the tremendous extent of their employment, which went far beyond anything experienced in previous campaigns.

This method was very appropriate for the aim in view. The final goal of the allied European armies is the freeing of Greater Europe from Bolshevism. The destruction of Bolshevism requires that the forces supporting Bolshevism in the Soviet Union be transformed or destroyed. Bolshevism has succeeded—and from the point of view of the present struggle this is its most important achievement—in making the Red Army an instrument of its power. Hence, as long as it is in the service of Bolshevism, German strategy must be directed mainly toward crushing the Red Army. Should the Red Army declare itself one day against the Bolshevik leadership, then the whole picture

would immediately be fundamentally changed.

Just as the method of the German command was firmly established from the first moment of the war, the quality of the German soldier, German leadership, and German weapons was known to the world. What was new was that in the course of the months the eastern war assumed more and more the character of a struggle of all Europe and that the sons of almost all European countries took part in it. By undergoing this psychological change and turning more and more into a Pan-European affair, it has created a new spirit which takes hold of all participants. To give an example: the Rumanian people, which till now has not made a name in the military sphere, has in this war supplied an army which has proved itself outstanding in many battles and recently in the conquest of Sevastopol. Through their achievements, the nations participating in the war against Bolshevism are earning their place in the new Europe.

THE KREMLIN'S CHOICE

As well known as were the German methods and forces before June 22, as unknown were those of the USSR. What was the Red Army likely to do?

As soon as the Soviet High Command had realized that the tremendous thrust of the German armies and their allies had forced it into the defensive, it could seize one of two strategical possibilities:

1. The Red Army could resume the tradition of the Russian Army in the Napoleonic War and retreat without fighting far into the interior of the country in order to weaken the enemy through distances, climate, and guerrilla warfare. It is difficult for an outsider to imagine how alive the memory of Napoleon's campaign and his catastrophe is in Russia even today. The national war against Napoleon has become almost a Russian legend, and any military decision which takes the experience of 1812 as a precedent can count upon Russian understanding. Moreover, Peter the Great had also destroyed his adversary Charles XII

of Sweden at Poltava by employing similar methods. The decision to evade serious fighting with the German troops and, instead, to retreat slowly should have been all the easier as the new territories occupied in 1939/40 were not yet fully fortified, and the real belt of fortifications lay behind the Soviet border as it had been before 1939/40.

2. The Soviet armies could oppose the German armies from the first moment of their crossing the Soviet border. Although this would have gone against the traditions of Russian warfare, it might have offered the possibility of saving Soviet territory from German occupation. But here we have an essential difference between the campaigns of Peter the Great and Kutusov on the one hand and the present war on the other. Up to the second half of the nineteenth century, Russian territory had hardly been opened up industrially, and it consisted mainly of agricultural settlements whose temporary loss hardly influenced the striking power of the Russian armies. Modern war, however, is based on industrial production, and a very considerable part of Soviet industry was in the western part of the USSR. The loss of territory today no longer means the loss of villages as much as that of industrial districts. This is especially so in the case of the great industrial districts around Leningrad in the north, around Moscow in central Russia, and in the Ukraine in the south. In order to remain in possession of these centers of production, the front would have to be kept as far west as possible.

A TRADITION IS BROKEN

Those who had followed the development of military thought in the Soviet Union had to conclude that, forced into the defensive, the Soviets would probably decide for the second alternative. Those who have lived in the USSR know on how many millions of posters and banners one could read the two quotations by Stalin and Voroshilov: "We shall not cede an inch of our soil," and "Our borders are sacred and inviolable. We

shall allow no one ever and under any circumstances to transgress them." And in the Soviet Union a Stalin quotation carries more weight than a law.

Today we know that during the First Year of the war the USSR did indeed decide not to retreat but to take up the battle. At no place did she, as in former wars, withdraw her forces voluntarily and according to plan. Again and again she opposed the European armies, and in every case where she retreated she did so under the pressure of her adversaries. This has been frankly acknowledged by German authorities. One of the best-known German military authors, Lieutenant Colonel Soldan, wrote on December 17, 1941, in the central organ of the National-Socialist Party, the *Völkischer Beobachter*:

"No one can claim that the Russians have tried to avoid battle. Orders issued by the Soviet High Command which have fallen into German hands have left no doubt that the Russians never had any intention of evading a battle but have always tried to offer stubborn resistance from strongly fortified positions, in order to prevent the German troops from further penetration into the interior of the Soviet Union . . . The Russians have fought for every inch of ground, even when the situation was entirely without hope."

The tactics followed by the Soviets during the first five months consisted in not retreating but standing up to the adversary, even when the latter had succeeded in breaking through, and continuing to fight as long as possible at the same place instead of choking the roads in headlong flight, as was the case in Holland and Belgium. These tactics can be employed to such an extent only in a country like the Soviet Union. They call, first, for so huge a mass of troops and material that losses need not be considered, as they can always be replaced for a certain length of time; and secondly, for soldiers with a nerveless steadfastness and patient capacity for suffering, tested in many wars, which enables them to hold out longer than French or British soldiers at a lost post and go on fighting.

TIMOSHENKO CHANGES HIS MIND

Only future war historians will be able to decide whether the method chosen by Stalin was the correct one, or whether it would have been better to continue the tradition of Poltava and of the Napoleonic campaign. One fact, however, can already be established today, namely, that *the decision to accept battle everywhere has led to huge losses for the Reds without having prevented the European armies from penetrating deeply into Russia.* Perhaps Timoshenko's new order, which became known a few days ago, means an admission that the method originally chosen was wrong. It indicates a radical change in Soviet tactics and reads:

"You have two tasks: to inflict on the enemy the highest possible losses, first of all in material and secondly in men, and to conduct operations in such a way that encirclement is avoided. This is of greater importance than defending every inch of soil if it involves high casualties. Under all circumstances the front must be kept intact, and contact with neighboring units must be ensured. Troop commanders should not devote their ambition to holding positions at any cost but should retreat, if this cannot be avoided, in elastic defense whereby the enemy is to be kept under fire by constant counterattacks of special commands."

It seems more than doubtful whether such a change in tactics can still be of any help at this stage of the war, after the European armies have used the winter and spring to move their supply bases a thousand miles further east. *It hardly makes sense: at a time when the German armies were still hundreds of miles from vital Soviet centers, the Red armies were ordered to fight to the last without giving ground, and now, with the enemy deep in the heart of the USSR, they are ordered to retreat.* Is Stalin beginning to run short of soldiers? Or is this simply another proof of the inadequacy of the Soviet High Command?

THE PALACE OF THE SOVIETS

More than about the methods the world had been guessing about the fighting value of the Red armies. Since the beginnings of the Soviet regime, opinions have

ranged between the extremes of contemptuous underestimation and rapturous praise. While all friends of Communism throughout the world on principle always only believed the best about the Soviet Union, cursory capitalist observers who only saw the picture of want and misery offered by the Soviet Union were usually led to the conclusion that the army, too, could not be much use.

In years of living and traveling in the Soviet Union I, too, had constantly observed the huge discrepancy between the official figures of Soviet production and the standard of living of the Soviet population. However, visits to many of the great industrial centers of the USSR had convinced me that the Soviet statistics on the production of pig iron, steel, oil, machinery, etc., could not be simply dismissed with the word "propaganda," and that indeed a large part of the alleged production is actually being produced. On the other hand, there is the terribly low level at which the population is forced to live.

There was a very simple answer to what seemed to many an insoluble paradox: in spite of the large production, the standard of living was low because the entire production, as far as it did not have to serve the absolutely indispensable requirements of the population, went into arming the Soviet Union. All that was lacking in goods for daily use, that was causing Soviet shops to decorate their windows with busts of Stalin and rubber plants instead of goods, that was forcing people to live in overcrowded houses, in worn-out clothes, and with inadequate food—in short, all that the Soviet citizen did not have, had for years been given to the Red Army.

An example of this has only recently gone the rounds of the world's press. It was reported that the Soviet Government had decided to suspend building operations on the "Palace of the Soviets" in Moscow in order to use the material for war purposes. Since the early thirties, the plans for this building had been drawn, speeches had been made, fat books published containing drawings of

future aspects, and newspaper articles written to praise the construction of this palace, which was to become the largest and most imposing building in the world, overshadowing even the skyscrapers of New York. The people were intoxicated by the idea.

When excavation work was begun on the square beside the River Moskwa, where once the great Church of the Redeemer had stood before it was blown up by the Soviets, some of the foreigners living in the vicinity moved away, because they were afraid that the enormous weight of the building going up would lift the neighboring blocks of houses and cause them to collapse. They could have saved themselves the trouble; for, according to the news report mentioned, up to now—that is, in more than seven years—only three of the proposed hundred floors had been completed in rough. This was only to be expected; for at a time when all life in the USSR was directed toward war preparations, it would have been inconceivable that hundreds of thousands of tons of steel and other material could have been put into a building of a purely propagandistic nature.

But even for those who were under no illusion regarding the extent of Soviet war preparations, it was impossible to form an idea of the actual strength of the Red Army. The failure of the Red troops in the war against little Finland contributed toward a general underestimation of the Red Army. Chancellor Hitler was the first frankly to admit in his speech of October 3, 1941, after the first few months of war:

"We have, it is true, erred on one point. We had no idea how gigantic had been Russia's preparations."

THE PLAN OF A DEAD MAN

With this army, which represented a huge question mark for the whole world, the Soviet leaders decided not to retreat but to fight. From the very first day, the Red Army accepted battle, as a whole as well as in its units down to the individual man. It employed tactics which had been worked out by the

Red Marshal Tukhachevsky, who was "liquidated" some years ago by Stalin. His plan provided for the Red Army to be deployed in depth instead of in breadth. In contrast to the military leaders of other states, Tukhachevsky had the advantage of years of personal contact with the German military staff. For this reason, the basic ideas of the German tactics were doubtless known to him, long before they proved themselves in Poland, Norway, and France. After his death, the new leaders of the Red Army developed the Tukhachevsky tactics further on the basis of the lessons given by the German campaigns from 1939 till the spring of 1941.

The Red armies were taught to oppose the enemy, not in a wide front, but deeply staggered toward the rear. For example, an army composed of three divisions consists at the moment of battle of a mass—roughly eighty miles deep—of small and large field positions, each single one of which must be overcome. It cannot, therefore, simply be penetrated in one thrust, as was the French front at Sedan. The Russian Army possesses a great tradition in the laying out of fortifications and in their defense. This tradition is developed and exploited to the utmost in the Tukhachevsky system.

Moreover, the Red Army was the only army beside the German one to possess a vast number of tanks at the outbreak of the war. This fact enabled it to offer additional resistance to the German armies even after they had forced their way through the deeply staggered Soviet fortifications. The final report on the battle of Sevastopol gives an idea of the almost incredible extent of Soviet fortifications. In the narrow space around Sevastopol alone, the German and Rumanian troops had to overcome 3,577 pillboxes and fortifications one by one and remove 137,000 land mines. The fantastic quantities of arms possessed by the Soviets can be inferred from the fact that even Moscow numbers the Soviet losses in the first year of the war at 15,000 tanks, 22,000 guns, and 9,000 planes. (German figures of Soviet losses for the first five

months only: 21,391 tanks, 32,041 guns, 17,322 planes.)

"VERDUNS"

An advantage for the Soviet defense are the numerous rivers that usually run parallel to the front. In the French campaign the German troops had to cross only three or four rivers before the final decision was brought about. In the vast areas of Eastern Europe, however, the rivers to be crossed can hardly be counted, and the Red Army has made a new stand at each of them.

On the other hand, the number of large fortresses in the way of the German advance was not very great. Those designed for resistance, like Leningrad, Odessa, and Sevastopol, did offer extremely stubborn resistance. In the Red Army's theory of war, the idea of "Verdun" plays an important part. For years it has been one of the favorite ideas of the Red military experts "to prepare a Verdun" for the opponent, where he will suffer such terrible losses that he has no strength left for further war actions. Leningrad, Odessa, and Sevastopol had been chosen as such "Verduns." If they have not fulfilled the expectations placed in them, and if two of them are already in German hands, this cannot be blamed on insufficient preparation on the part of the Soviets.

In the present stage of general secrecy, the layman cannot form any judgment on the advantages and disadvantages of the armaments on both sides. But it can be said in general that the Soviet weapons were far better than the world had supposed.

On the whole the Reds proved themselves to be very inventive, as was shown, for example, by the employment of 800 mine-carrying dogs in the battle of Kharkov. To each dog had been fastened high explosives which were to be discharged when the dogs crawled underneath enemy vehicles or armored cars. However, not all original ideas turn out successfully. Frightened by the German defensive fire, which broke loose un-

expectedly, the dogs turned tail and fled back into the Soviet positions. They leaped at Soviet soldiers and caused their charges to explode.

WAS THERE A STALIN LINE?

There have been many discussions in the world's press as to whether there was, on the western border of the Soviet Union, a Stalin Line which could be compared with the Maginot, Mannerheim, and Metaxas Lines. In answering this question, one must differentiate between the old and the new Soviet western borders. There can be no doubt that there was no such line on the Soviet border newly created by the occupation of parts of Eastern Europe in 1939/40, however much had been done in that short time. (In less than two years the number of airfields in the new areas had risen from 90 to 814!) Things are different, however, with regard to the old Soviet border. Even before 1936, when I crossed this border more than twenty times at different places by train, airplane, and motorcar, there were extensive fortifications there. A strip 30 to 75 miles wide running along the border had been cleared almost entirely of the civilian population formerly living there. It had been transformed into a war zone designed according to the requirements of modern warfare, where the latest and best means of defense were being erected. Therefore this defense belt reaching from the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea did not resemble the rigid Maginot Line, and only in this respect were the Soviets perhaps justified in disputing the existence of a Stalin Line.

As the old frontier had been drawn haphazardly in 1918/20 and did not follow any natural border, the belt of fortifications, later dubbed the "Stalin Line" by the world's press, did not run exactly along it. It followed the border from Narva in the north down to Polotsk and was backed in the northern part of this section by the Narva River and Lake Peipus, and in the southern part by the River Dvina between Drissa and Polotsk. From Polotsk, however, it separated from the border, which was hard to defend.



A Finnish sergeant

EUROPE FACES THE SOVIETS



German infantry marching
through a Soviet village

Marching . . .

An Italian detachment leaving
for the eastern front



Red prisoners. One of
them is wearing a British
steel helmet, while an-
other has a German steel
helmet of Great War
vintage

It curved along the Duna towards the southeast, crossed the Duna/Dniepr gap between Vitebsk and Orsha, and then followed the upper reaches of the Dniepr as far as the level of Gomel. The next section to the south was protected by the Pripet and Rokitno Marshes. South of the marshy region the belt of fortifications was continued more or less along the line Korosten/Jitomir/Berdichev/Vinnitsa to the middle reaches of the Dniestr and along the east bank of this river down to the Black Sea.

PARTISAN METHODS

Beside the traditions of the destruction of Napoleon and the battle of Verdun, the tradition of the partisans (guerrillas) plays an important part in the Red theory of war. During the time of the Russian civil war, the Bolsheviks had to thank guerrilla warfare for many of their successes, and therefore included it as an integral part of their military thought. One can probably say that no other state has ever prepared itself so consistently for guerrilla warfare. Whole troop units were trained for it and purposely left behind after June 22 in pathless sections of the areas occupied by the European troops. From there they were to harass the allied armies from the rear and disrupt their communications. The participation of the civilian population in the partisan war, about which so much is written in the Red and Anglo-American press, is exaggerated. However, the struggle against these guerrilla formations, some of which fight in civilian clothes, is often mentioned in the communiqués of the German High Command. Although they do not represent an actual danger they are a serious nuisance, whose existence also retards the return of normal life among the Soviet population that has remained behind in the occupied territories.

The great emphasis on the partisan tradition has led the Soviet leaders to conduct the training, not only of troops destined for guerrilla service, but of the entire Red Army, from a guerrilla point of view. This has proved to be a great

mistake. That which was effective in civil war with comparatively small units and in the absence of heavy weapons is of no use in the battle against motorized masses. The partisan training of the Red Army has, it is true, led to successes for the individual soldier or small units, but it has also hindered the combined operation of large armies. The second explanation for the poor result of the course of the war up till now in comparison to the quality of the individual soldier is Stalin's great purge, to which the flower of the Soviet military staff and superior officer corps fell victim in the years from 1936 to 1938.

"NO ROOM FOR REGRET"

In one point, however, the Soviets have not only taken over the Russian tactics of the Napoleonic War but even extended them immeasurably: the scorched-earth policy. It was proclaimed by Stalin on July 2, 1941, and still more sharply formulated by Kalinin, the President of the USSR, when he ordered:

"When the enemy advances, everything of value must be destroyed. One must not let oneself be disturbed by the thought that those are values created by us. There is no room for pity or regret in such cases. To destroy everything, to leave nothing behind for the enemy, that is true patriotism."

In view of the rapidity of the German advance, by far the greater part of the conquered Soviet territory would have remained unscathed. But the scorched-earth policy employed by the Russians has reduced almost the entire country to rubble and ashes. In "Inside Russia" (February issue, 1942) we spoke about the psychological exploitation of this policy. Even the Allies of the Soviet Union have recognized this. In the issue of September 22, 1941, of the magazine *Life*, the following text accompanies two half-page photos of the destruction in Minsk (one of them is reproduced on p. 95):

"Scarcely a bomb landed on these two devastated areas of Minsk, capital of White Russia, with a population of 200,000 White Russians, Jews and Poles. Russians themselves burned down the city as part of the

same 'scorched earth' policy as defeated Napoleon.

"Clear streets in Minsk, without bomb pits or rubble, show that this was 'scorched earth' destruction. Fires were lit by the Russians in the stairwells of the modern stone buildings, gutting them so completely as to make them useless as German troops barracks."

A NEW FORMULA

One point in which the campaign against the Soviet Union differs entirely from the previous campaigns of the present war is the absence of bordering seas against which the opposing army could be pushed back and forced to a "Dunkirk." Wherever there were such coasts, Dunkirks took place: in Reval, in Odessa, and in the Crimea. With these, however, the Dunkirk possibilities offered to the European armies are exhausted. They are now confronted by a mass of land where there is nothing more against which they could push the Red armies. This fact complicates the German tactics. Now it is no longer enough to drive *Keils*, as in previous campaigns, through the enemy armies to a coast and then to press together and finally to "Dunkirk" the armies enclosed between *Keil* and coast. The formula $Keil + coast = Kessel$ has been replaced by a new one: $Keil + Keil = Kessel$. For the missing coast must be replaced by a second *Keil* which meets the first one in a pincer movement somewhere behind the enemy armies, as happened over and over again in the eastern campaign. Although this renders the task of the European armies considerably more difficult, it also prevents the escape of large enemy troop contingents over the sea (as was possible at Dunkirk) and makes the annihilation of the surrounded troops complete.

THE SULTAN'S JANIZARIES

Considering the role hitherto played by the Red soldier in this war, we shall have to study his character a little more closely. We must proceed from the basic fact that Bolshevism has ruled the soul of the Soviet population for a quarter of a century. It will soon be exactly

twenty-five years since the Red Flag rose over the Kremlin. Ever since then, a mass of what eventually amounted to 170 million people has been worked on day in and day out with the double means of propaganda and terror with a consistency and brutality never before seen in history. Only those who have lived for years in the Soviet Union can imagine the influence that twenty-five years of terror and propaganda can have upon people. Everything publicly written or spoken in the USSR during this time was part of the Bolshevik world of ideas. And anything written or said in private that did not agree with the Bolshevik world of ideas or, within that world, diverged ever so slightly from the general trend of that time, led sooner or later to Siberia or to the grave. For a quarter of a century everything was "liquidated" that seemed suspicious and everything encouraged that fitted into the Bolshevik conception.

There is a famous example in history of troops who fought bravely for a cause they should have hated—the Janizaries of the Turkish sultans. Taken away in early youth from their persecuted Christian parents, they were trained relentlessly, with unbending severity and propaganda, to become the fierce guards of Islam against the Christian nations.

At the outbreak of the German-Soviet war there were approximately a hundred million people living in the Soviet Union who were born after the revolution of 1917, a hundred million people who had not known a single day of the pre-Bolshevik world. If we add to this those who, though born in the years before the revolution, were too young to be influenced by the pre-revolutionary world, i.e., those born between 1901 and 1917, we reach a figure that probably seems fantastic but that is based on official statistics: namely, 140 million people. On June 22, 1941, there were 140 million people under the age of forty who had grown up entirely under the influence of Bolshevism and had to a large extent become its obedient tools.

These are the men fighting in the Red armies and working in the factories and *kolkhozy* of the Soviet Union. In previous articles in this magazine ("Inside Russia," February 1942; "The USSR Faces Spring," May 1942) we have shown with what skill Soviet propaganda has whipped up feelings of hatred and revenge in these men against the armies of Europe, and even of self-destruction, feelings which find their ghastly expression in actions such as the willful blowing up of 2,000 women, children, and wounded in Sevastopol by a Soviet commissar.

One need hardly consider the remaining twenty per cent who are over forty years old. Scared, prematurely aged by privations, bewildered by the radical changes in their life, they are no match for the Bolsheviks.

To all this must be added the frightful pressure of terror which weighs upon every inhabitant of the Soviet Union and which can force him to do almost anything demanded from him, as has been shown by countless examples in the last few years, especially the famous staged trials. Revenge on family members has proved to be a particularly effective scourge for the Soviet Government to use upon its citizens.

THEY FOUGHT WELL

It is hard to say to what degree the attitude of the Red soldier is composed of terror, of being accustomed to the Bolshevik ideas or even belief in their truth, and of the traditional bravery of the Russian soldier. Whatever may be the reasons, the Germans have frankly admitted that—while the Soviet High Command has proved inadequate—the Red soldier has fought better than any other of Germany's opponents in this war. Lieutenant Colonel Soldan, the German military author we quoted before, wrote that the Red Army had on all fronts shown an almost unimaginable power of resistance. Even the heaviest losses had simply been ignored by the Soviet command. The individual Russian soldier had proved himself to be an excellent fighting man, and his tenacity and

power of resistance were really unbelievable. It was of no importance by what means discipline was maintained among the Red soldiers; the main thing was that it was being maintained. Even in the great battles, when countless Red soldiers had fallen or been taken prisoner, the Soviet commissars had succeeded in re-establishing discipline among the soldiers, Colonel Soldan concluded.

Even if, for instance, in Sevastopol the Red defense finally collapsed, although, as was found afterwards, there was still enough food and ammunition for several months, this was not a result of the cowardice of Red soldiers but of the fury of the German weapons of attack and the courage of the German and Rumanian troops.

After the great defeat Timoshenko suffered in the battle of Kharkov in May 1942, a correspondent of the Japanese paper *Asahi*, who inspected the battlefield immediately after the collapse of the Soviet *Kessel*, wrote:

"The Soviet forces, after rejecting the German demand for surrender, had fought bitterly. Those who surrendered did so not voluntarily but only after being deprived of all means to continue resistance."

NO TECHNICAL ABILITY?

In many circles all over the world the opinion was held that the Russian had no ability for technical things and therefore could not wage a modern war. Indeed, until a few decades ago the empire of the Tsars was composed of inhabitants who, in their large majority, were peasants and lived in villages far from all modern technical influence. They did their work with the primitive methods which had already been used by their ancestors in the times of Ivan the Terrible. However, the Bolshevization of Russia was marked in the economic sphere by the mechanization and industrialization of the country. In my opinion, the sociological revolution of the Soviet Union was greater than the political. For instance, the number of city dwellers, who are far more exposed to the influence of the machine age, rose in the Soviet Union

from 15.8 millions in 1897 to 39.1 millions in 1932. During the same time, the number of cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants grew from 14 to 46. Naturally, almost the entire increase in the number of city dwellers came from the human reservoir of the peasant population. Among those, for example, who in 1931 entered the metal industry of the Ural district and the Ukrainian coal-mining industry, 70 and 80 per cent respectively were of peasant origin. To become an engineer was now the ideal of Soviet youth.

At the same time the peasant population was "proletarianized" through the transformation of former individual small farms into large enterprises, which were given the significant name of "grain factories." The driving and repairing of hundreds of thousands of tractors, combines, other agricultural machines, and trucks, and the presence in the villages of radios, typewriters, etc., have also accustomed the remaining rural population to technical matters more and more every year. We know from the first few years of mechanization in Soviet agriculture that innumerable machines were ruined as a result of lacking experience on the part of the peasants. But the peasant who had made a mess of the first tractor learnt from its wreckage how to work the second; and when the third one came, he faced it, no longer with the almost superstitious fear he had shown at first, but with a certain measure of technical experience.

WATCHING THE "OSSOAVIAKHIM"

As an example of how the Russians have been systematically accustomed to modern weapons, I shall take the most modern of them, aviation. In the autumn of 1932 I spent several months in the Soviet Union studying the *Osoaviakhim*. This mass organization was at that time headed by one of the most efficient officers of the Red Army, General Eide-mann (later executed by Stalin), who gave me permission to study it, accompanied by a young Red officer. I was free to decide upon my route of travel

myself. I chose the Ukraine and the northern Caucasus.

The *Osoaviakhim* was organized for the military training of the Soviet population, especially its youth, outside of the Red Army. One of its tasks is to train future aviators. This training is carried out on a very broad basis and begins in earliest youth. The youngest boys, pupils of the primary classes of village and city schools, are combined into groups which are occupied with "aeromodeling," that is, building small airplane models according to plans distributed from headquarters and testing these models in competition among each other and against other schools. This game automatically acquaints the children with certain aerodynamic laws. Next comes the building of kites, at first only two-dimensional ones like we have all played with as children; then more and more complicated ones which contribute towards familiarity with the air. Then follows gliding and soaring, a sport taken over from Germany which very quickly became most popular with the young people of the Soviet Union and led to numerous outstanding records. Glider factories were established with a yearly production of thousands of planes.

Every autumn I visited the broad valley of the Moskva River near the small town of Tushino to watch the competitions held annually by the *Osoaviakhim*. For months the best "aeromodelists" and glider pilots had competed in local contests all over the USSR, and the most successful ones had been invited to Moscow by the *Osoaviakhim*. Those who came were the vanguard of hundreds of thousands of young Soviet citizens who spent much of their time studying flying problems. As a result, the performances were quite impressive. There were little boys and girls with small plane models which could fly as much as 300 yards; others who had built tiny motors of about one pound in weight capable of propelling models through the air. Kite enthusiasts were able, by linking a chain of kites to one rope, to lift one of their group high into the air, and

the gliders performed complicated loops and flew on their backs.

PARACHUTES FOR FUN

Beside this, the *Osoaviakhim* encouraged parachute jumping as a sport. In 1932, the Red Army was the first to have employed mass formations of parachute jumpers in its large-scale maneuvers in the vicinity of Kiev. Parachute jumping became a sport for the masses. Towers were erected in every city, and sometimes even in the country, from whose topmost platform one could jump off with a parachute. Of course, the parachute was already open, as it would not have had sufficient time to open at so low a height. But, nevertheless, the jumper had first to fall clear through the air before he floated down to the ground with his parachute. The popularity of these jumping towers was immense. In the main public park of Moscow there was always a queue of hundreds of people patiently waiting their turn.

The highest step in aviation training in the *Osoaviakhim* was motor flight and parachute jumping from airplanes. The whole of the Soviet Union was covered with a network of aviation schools, and everything which had to do with flying was popularized with all the means of propaganda. Many of these aviation pupils were then taken into the army. By such means, the long road from the backwoods peasant child to the modern flying officer was systematically shortened and a huge reservoir created of men who had already become accustomed to the air before entering the army. It is true, in the course of the war up till now the Soviet pilots have proved to be vastly inferior to the German ones and have, as a result, suffered terrible losses. In a single week of the battle of Kharkov (May 14-21), for instance, they lost 452 planes. However, if only on account of its mass, the Soviet air arm is an important factor in the fighting on the eastern European front.

THE MARCH OF WAR

After this analysis of the most important factors in the war in Eastern

Europe, we can glance at the development of this war during its first thirteen months. It falls automatically into four phases. The first was from June 22 up to the declaration of the winter defensive on December 8, 1941; the second embraces the period of winter and *rasputitsa* (the "waylessness" following the thaw); the third stretches from the beginning of the battle of Kertch on May 8 up to the start of the summer offensive on June 28; and the fourth has at present reached its first climax.

The military development in the vast expanse of the USSR becomes clearer if it is subdivided geographically. In accordance with the fact that the German armies held the initiative up to the declaration of the winter defensive, it should be divided according to the three main German armies, which, during the first few months, were under the commands of Field Marshals von Leeb in the north, von Bock in the center, and von Rundstedt in the south.

VON BOCK'S FIRST 500 MILES

During the first four weeks, the main thrust was carried out by von Bock's army group in the direction of Moscow. Its right flank was bordered by the trackless Pripet and Rokitno Marshes, while its left flank was covered by von Leeb's army. Von Bock's army group had obviously been ordered to move as fast as possible along the main road to Moscow, destroying the greatest possible number of enemy troops. It advanced in two mighty columns, the left one coming from the Suwalki corner in East Prussia, the right one from occupied Poland. First it was essential that the Soviet border fortresses of Grodno and Brest-Litovsk be destroyed. This took place on June 23 and 24. Now the armored columns, followed by motorized and marching infantry, stormed eastward in two almost parallel *Keils*, approximately up to the level of Minsk. There the points of both *Keils* swung inward and met roughly at the spot where the Warsaw/Minsk/Moscow railway crosses the Beresina River. Together they then crossed the Beresina at Borissov on July

4, and a few days later they were facing the Stalin Line at its strongest point.

Meanwhile, the huge *Kessel* between Suvalki, Brest-Litovsk, and Borissov had been subdivided into two *Kessels* centering around Bialystok and Minsk. This is where the first two great battles of annihilation in the eastern campaign took place. The two *Kessels* were compressed into a constantly diminishing space by the surrounding German troops, while at the same time they were cut up like a cake into smaller slices by armored *Keils* thrusting toward their center and destroying the Soviet units one by one or leading them off into captivity. On July 11 the German communiqué announced the conclusion of the twofold battle of destruction, with 324,000 prisoners and 3,332 armored vehicles captured.

Without waiting for the conclusion of these two *Kessel* battles, the advance formations of von Bock's army group had broken into the Stalin Line. This line was strongly fortified in the gap between Vitebsk on the Duena and Orsha on the Dniepr. (There is a detailed description of the historical and strategic importance of this gap in the article "Three Against Moscow" published in the issue of November 1941 of our magazine.)

After a short and bitter struggle the German armies broke through the Stalin Line in three *Keils*. On July 4, Moghilyov fell before the advance of the right wing; on July 11, Vitebsk was taken by the left wing; and on July 16 the main column took Smolensk. (In view of the seriousness of the situation, Stalin made himself People's Commissar of Defense a few days later.) Through joining the three *Keil*-heads east of Smolensk, a further number of *Kessels* was created, the most important of which are shown in our map.

TOWARDS MOSCOW

Now only, after a distance of almost 500 miles as the crow flies had been covered against fierce resistance in just four weeks, was the thrust temporarily

halted. First of all the *Kessels* formed in the area around Smolensk had to be destroyed, a process which was concluded with the liquidation of the last of these *Kessels*, that of Roslavl on August 9; secondly, the columns that had advanced so far had to wait for supplies and the infantry to catch up with them; and thirdly, Timoshenko, who at that time commanded the central sector on the Soviet side, had succeeded in bringing up large quantities of troops and armaments on the close railway network surrounding Moscow which favored the Red armies. In stubborn counterattacks involving great losses for his men he threw these reserves against the German troops. The Red Army fought with the greatest possible fury in its attempt to prevent a further advance toward the triple capital—that of Russia, the Soviet Union, and of world Bolshevism.

During September, von Bock allowed the Red armies to dash themselves in vain against the German positions. That was the time in which the Soviet and Anglo-Saxon press gave free rein to their imagination and spoke of the German offensive getting stuck and of the beginning of trench warfare. Even during this period, von Bock's army group did not limit itself to defense, as was shown by the conquest of Vyazma on September 10. But its actual fighting activity began again on October 2. It formed a big new *Kessel* east of Vyazma and went on to penetrate deeply into the advance positions of the defense of Moscow. By the middle of October, Kalinin, Rjev, Volokolamsk, Mojaisk, Serpukhov, and Kaluga were captured and huge numbers of prisoners taken.

Meanwhile, the army group von Bock had driven several *Keils* southeastward from its right wing which led to the formation of the *Kessels* of Gomel (liquidated on August 21) and of Bryansk (liquidated on October 19) and to the fall of Oryol on October 3.

However, this swing to the south—we shall still have to speak of another especially important one in connection with the battle for Kiev—did not alter



The first religious service held in a church in a Russian town after the entry of German forces. This church had been used by the Bolsheviks as a barn

Destruction and Rehabilitation

"Scorched earth." This is what the city of Minsk looked like when it fell into German hands. Note the complete absence of any shell holes or bomb craters, a proof that the fire was deliberately set by the Soviets. (Taken from *Life* and mentioned on p. 89)



A German army surgeon treating the children of Russian peasants



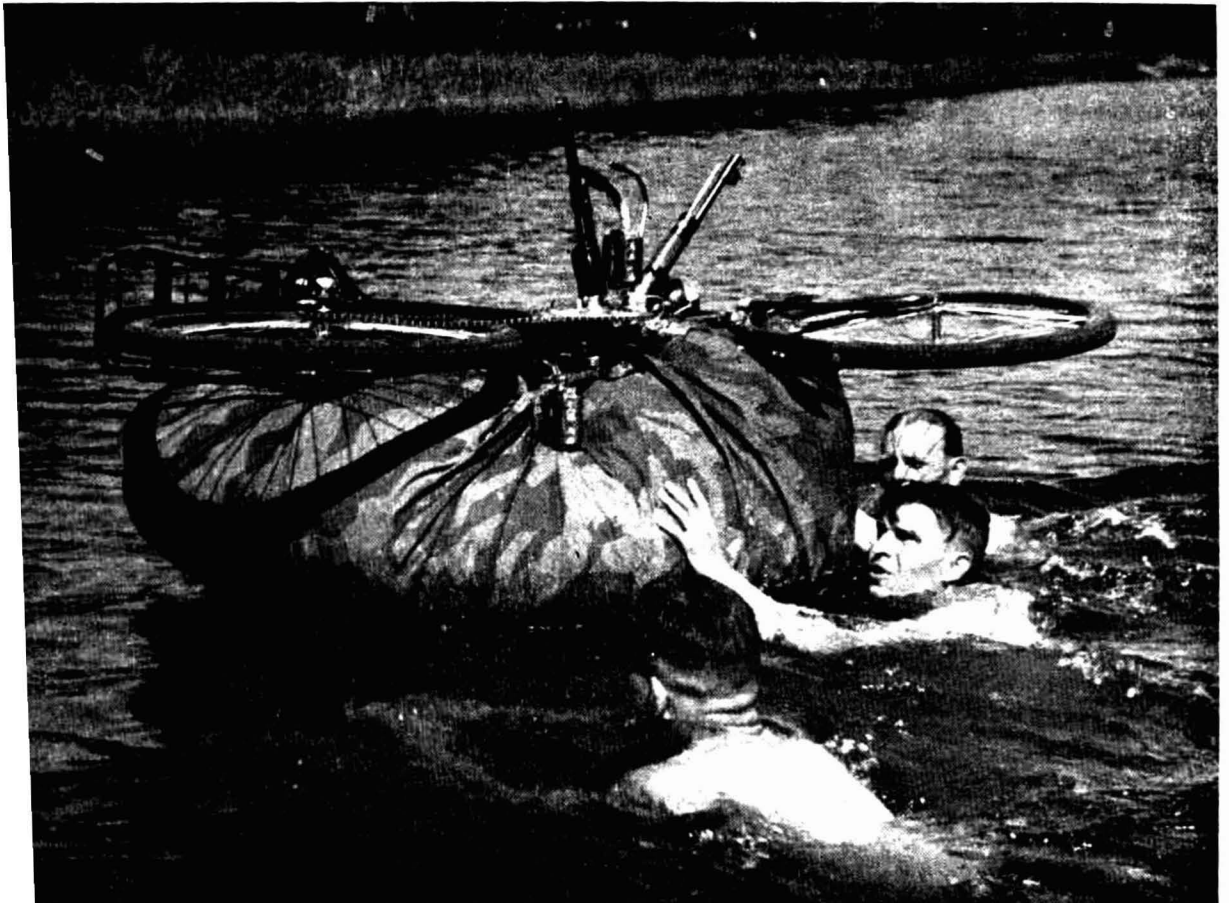


A German gun being ferried on collapsible rafts across one of Russia's countless rivers

Conquest of Space



A German pilot. Like many of his comrades he has made hundreds of flights against the Bolshevik enemy



A German bicycle squadron crossing a Russian river

the fact that the main thrust of this army group was directed at Moscow. The stubbornness of the resistance and the strength and density of the fortifications grew with the closer approach to Moscow. The Reds were fighting on the close network of railways radiating in all directions from Moscow and on the advantageous inner line in proximity to the factories of the Moscow industrial district. The unexpectedly early beginning of an exceptionally cold winter caused the German High Command on December 8 to order the offensive to be suspended and the troops to adopt a defensive war of the winter.

VON RUNDSTEDT PUSHES INTO THE UKRAINE

While the advance of the army group von Bock almost up to the outskirts of Moscow was, seen from a military point of view, the most important event of the first few months of war, the advance of the southern armies under von Rundstedt had the greatest economic consequences. Besides destroying the Red troops, the goal of this army group was to occupy the grain, raw-material, and industrial region of the Ukraine. This army group was composed of German, Hungarian, Rumanian, and later also Italian troops. Its left flank was covered by the Rokitno Marshes and its right flank by the Black Sea. Owing to the main effort being concentrated on the drive on Moscow, the advance of the southern armies got under way somewhat more slowly. Nevertheless, the western projection of the Soviet border in Galicia had already been cleared early in July by the co-operation of German troops advancing from occupied Poland and Hungarian troops who crossed the passes of the Carpathians. Przemyśl fell in the first drive, Dubno on June 27, Lemberg on June 30, Lutsk, after a severe tank battle, on July 1, and Stanislavov and Kolomea on July 4. The further advance of the German-Hungarian armies took place in three main columns: the left one drove just south of the Rokitno Marshes via Lutsk and Korosten through the Stalin Line towards the Soviet defense lines

backed by the Dniepr north of Kiev; the middle one, coming from Lemberg, penetrated the Stalin Line at Jitomir and had already reached the advance defenses of Kiev by the middle of July; the third one, consisting of Germans and Rumanians, advanced to the River Bug and followed it southward.

THE DNIETR'S RIGHT BANK

Instead of immediately attacking Kiev, as had been expected by the Red High Command — which had concentrated strong forces in the sector of Kiev—the German armies swung to the right in a southeasterly direction. Some of these troops, together with the German-Hungarian armies, formed the *Kessel* of Uman, while others occupied the west bank of the Dniepr in a rapid advance and made preparations at several points to cross this river, which is among the broadest in Europe. The *Kessel* of Uman was cleared on August 8, and the troops that had now become available again advanced so rapidly along both banks of the Bug towards the southeast that the fall of the great port of Nikolayev at the mouth of the Bug could be reported as early as August 17, that of Kherson, on the right bank of the mouth of the Dniepr, following four days later. At the same time, another part of the troops available from the Uman *Kessel* had driven toward the iron-ore district of Krivoy Rog, had taken the city on August 15, and, together with the *Keil* advancing along the Dniepr, had formed a new *Kessel* in the territory between Krivoy Rog and the Dniepr bend of Dniepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, and Nikopol. On August 26, the bridgehead on the left bank of the Dniepr at Dniepropetrovsk fell into German hands.

In the meantime, a combined Rumanian-German army under the Rumanian Marshal Antonescu on the outermost right wing had advanced across the Prut and, divided into three columns (a northern one going through Czernowitz and the valley of the Dniestr, a central one through Kishinyov, and a southern one through Galatz and Bolgrad), had freed Bessarabia and reached the shores of the Black Sea. On July 27, Akkerman at the

mouth of the Dniestr had fallen, and by August 14, Odessa, on the other side of the river, had been surrounded. After two months of stubborn resistance, this strongly fortified city fell on October 16.

TWO PAIRS OF "KEILS"

By the end of August we have the following picture in the Ukraine. The German troops had taken the entire right bank of the Dniepr (with the exception of Odessa and the fortified belt of Kiev) between the Pripet Marshes and the Black Sea. North of Kiev the Dniepr line had already been penetrated, and the Red troops had withdrawn to the Desna line. Thus the front was shaped like a gigantic "S" whose upper third was formed by the Desna and its lower two thirds by the Dniepr. Hence the Reds had been able to maintain two advance positions far forward in the region overrun by the Germans: one at Kiev and another on the left bank of the mouth of the Dniepr. The Russians held these two positions, supplying Kiev especially with large masses of troops, because they obviously hoped to be able later on to start a counteroffensive from them and surround the German armies occupying the triangle of the lower elbow of the Dniepr in a pincer movement.

So there were two *Keils* on each side facing each other: going from north to south, the first (on the right bank of the Desna) and third (in the elbow of the Dniepr) were German, the second (around Kiev) and fourth (on the left bank of the mouth of the Dniepr) were Russian. The question was which of these *Keils* would be able successfully to carry out their function, i.e., to close in upon and destroy the opponent—the *Keils* of von Rundstedt or those of Marshal Budyonny, who was then in command of the southern sector of the Soviet front.

"KEIL" TURNS INTO "KESSEL"

On August 21 the *Kessel* of Gomel, which had been formed by troops of the army group von Bock, was liquidated, and a part of the troops then available received orders to march south. In the

first days of September, Tchernigov on the Desna was taken, and the Desna was crossed 75 miles east of Tchernigov by strong German detachments headed south. Immediately after that, the Dniepr was crossed in a wide front to the right and to the left of Kremenchug in a northerly direction, and on September 13 the two *Keils* coming from the north and south met at the little town of Lokhvitsa. The mightiest of all *Kessels* had thus been formed. On September 19, Kiev fell, and on 27th the conclusion of the greatest of all battles of annihilation fought on the Soviet front could be announced, together with the capture of 675,000 prisoners. Another proof of the superiority with which the German command handled the *Keil* tactics is the fact that, a few days after the two *Keils* had met in Lokhvitsa, German troops occupied Poltava (September 18), thus preventing a Red drive from the Donets region. The northern one of the two Russian *Keils* had lost the game through the concentration of its center of gravity at its head in Kiev and through the neglect suffered by its overestimated flanks on the left banks of the Desna and the Dniepr. The *Keil* of yesterday had turned into the *Kessel* of today.

The transition of an army from a *Keil* into a *Kessel* position can take place within a few hours. A *Keil* remains a *Keil* only so long as it can hold its sides against the enemy. At the moment in which its flanks are pierced, it turns into a *Kessel*.

ALONG THE SEA OF AZOV

On the very day on which the conclusion of the encircling battle of Kiev was announced, the right wing of the allied southern army turned against the southern Soviet *Keil*. On September 27 the lower Dniepr was crossed at Berislav and the Sea of Azov reached on the following day. On October 2 began the offensive eastward along the north coast of the Sea of Azov. In Mariupol a juncture was effected with another *Keil* marching south from Dniepropetrovsk, and thus a new *Kessel* was formed in the area between Zaporozhye, Nikopol, Melitopol, and

Mariupol. Without allowing this to delay them, the German columns reached Taganrog on October 16.

Meanwhile, the troops that had become available through the liquidation of the Kiev *Kessel* had turned east in a wide front. With the fall of Belgorod (north of Kharkov) on October 24 and of Kursk on November 2, a more or less straight front Kursk/Belgorod/Taganrog had been formed.

The drive from Berislav to the Sea of Azov at the end of September had cut off the Crimea from its mainland connections. On October 24 the Crimean offensive began with sanguinary fighting on the narrow Isthmus of Perekop. On November 1, Simferopol fell, on 4th Feodosiya, and on 16th Kertch. Only the naval port of Sevastopol, which the Russians had transformed into one of the strongest fortresses in the world, withstood the German attack.

This concluded the large-scale actions of the southern army. Although one more drive was undertaken at the end of November towards Rostov on the lower Don and the city taken, this extremely advanced spearhead was withdrawn after a few days, so that, when the winter defensive was declared, the southern front stretched fairly straight from Kursk to Taganrog.

VON LEEB'S THREE TASKS

The army group von Leeb obviously had a threefold task: (1) to free the Baltic States, which had been occupied by the Soviet Union in 1939/40; (2) to isolate Leningrad from the rest of the Soviet Union; and (3) to cover the left flank of the main attack directed at Moscow by an advance in the direction of Lake Ilmen and Lake Seliger. In accordance with this threefold task, the

advance of the army group von Leeb was carried out chiefly in three columns.

The first of these, effectively supported by the German Navy, advanced northward via Riga, the capital of Latvia, which was taken on July 1, through the territory between the Baltic Sea and Lake Peipus, and reached the line Pernau/Felin/Dorpat ten days later. From here the advance was slowed down, as the Soviet armies, pushed against the Gulf of Finland northwest of this line, offered stubborn resistance. On August 6, Taps fell, and on 8th Wessenberg. Immediately following this, the Gulf of Finland was reached, and a week later the *Kessel* formed by this in northwestern Estonia around Reval was annihilated. The last remnants of the Reds were wiped out on September 1 by the conquest of Hapsal. By September 22 the island of Oesel was firmly in German hands. Simultaneously with the advance of these columns, a smaller column on their left wing had moved along the coast and occupied Windau on July 1.

Through this the retreat over the sea had been cut for the Red troops in western Latvia. The *Kessel* formed here was soon destroyed.

The central drive of the army group von Leeb went through Lithuania via Kovno (taken on June 24) and Duena-burg (June 26) against the Stalin Line south of Lake Peipus. On July 9 the Stalin Line was pierced at Ostrov. This resulted in the Red troops west and southwest of Lake Peipus being cut off, and the *Kessel* formed here was announced by the German communiqué as having been destroyed by August 3. After having penetrated the Stalin Line, this column split up into three sections. The



left one marched due north and, by reaching the Gulf of Finland at Narva on August 21, cut off all of Estonia from the Soviet Union. The right one drove northeastward toward Lake Ilmen, which it circumvented from both sides, thus forming another Red *Kessel*, and on August 21 occupied the venerable city of Novgorod. A further advance took it on August 30 along the River Volkhov northeast of Novgorod to the important Leningrad/Moscow railway, which was cut on August 30. The central column, whose drive was directed against Leningrad, defended like Moscow by a vast belt of fortifications and with great stubbornness, was the slowest to advance. Luga was taken on August 26. From there onwards, every step of the ground had to be fought for, until, through the occupation of Schlusselfburg on September 9, Leningrad's land connections with the rest of the Soviet Union were cut. A few days previous to this, the former War Commissar Voroshilov had assumed the supreme command in Leningrad. During the next few weeks the German troops gradually worked their way closer and closer to the city. Apart from this, there were no major actions in this sector of the front, with the exception of a drive to Tikhvin on the Leningrad/Vologda railway, which was taken on November 9. After the declaration of the winter defensive this spearhead was withdrawn.

The right wing of the army group von Leeb marched through Vilna (taken on June 24) and pierced the Stalin Line at the beginning of July. After stubborn fighting, the belt of fortifications was penetrated on July 16 with the capture of Polotsk. Nevel was taken on July 24. With the advance further east a *Kessel* was formed east of Velikiye Luki, Kholm occupied on August 6, and the Valdai heights, where the Volga has its source, were reached. By this maneuver the Soviet armies were robbed of the possibility of becoming dangerous to the left flank of the army group von Bock.

The number of prisoners taken by von Leeb's army group (June 27 to October

22: 300,000), which represents only a fraction of those taken in the central and southern sector, go to show that the Reds had placed comparatively weak forces in this sector, except at Leningrad.

In all the areas occupied by the troops of Europe, every effort was immediately turned toward reconstruction and the return of normal life.

THE FINNISH FRONT

The area north of Leningrad is a war theater to itself. Here the Finnish divisions under Marshal von Mannerheim, in spite of their terrible losses in the previous Finnish-Russian war, not only recaptured the territory lost to the Soviet Union in the treaty of March 13, 1940, with the city of Viborg (retaken August 30), but also occupied beyond that large areas on the Karelian Isthmus (between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga) and the Aunus Isthmus (between Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega).

In September the Finnish troops reached the River Svir, which flows from Lake Onega into Lake Ladoga, thus disrupting traffic on the Stalin Canal, and the southern end of the Murmansk railway. With the occupation of Petrozavodsk in the beginning of October, the southern part of the Murmansk railway was rendered useless, so that the armaments coming from Murmansk had to be transported on a line recently built by the Soviets (shown on our map), which links up the Murmansk railway with the Arkhangelsk railway. Even under the midnight sun beyond the Polar circle up to the Fisher peninsula, fighting went on between the Finns, supported by German troops drawn from Norway, and the Soviets. However, the rest of the Murmansk railway, north of Lake Onega, remained in Soviet hands, although it was frequently disrupted by air bombings.

IS MURMANSK A RIDDLE?

The question has often been asked: Why have not the Finnish-German troops established themselves on the northern Murmansk railway? After all, it is only some eighty miles from the Finnish border

to Kandalaksha Bay on the White Sea. The capture of Kandalaksha would render Murmansk useless as a port of entry for British and American war materials.

There are several answers to be given to this question. In the first place, the region between the Finnish border and the White Sea is covered by innumerable lakes and bogs which greatly favor the defender—as the Soviets found out in their war against Finland in 1939/40. During the winter, when the waters are frozen, the arctic night makes military operations exceedingly difficult. In the second place, the little country of Finland sacrificed much of her best blood in the war she fought single-handed against the Red colossus two and a half years ago.

However, neither terrain nor exhaustion have prevented the Finnish forces from occupying large parts of the Karelian and Aunus Isthmuses. The fact that the Murmansk railway has not been cut in its northern portion may therefore indicate that this has been done on purpose. For, what is the advantage to be gained by cutting the Murmansk railway? This would still leave untouched one railway link from the White Sea to Central Russia, namely that from the port of Arkhangelsk. The cutting of the Murmansk railway would cause all British and American shipments to be directed to this port, which is much farther away from the German and Finnish air bases than Murmansk. It might also discourage America and Britain from sending large convoys to northern Russia, which, from the German point of view, would not necessarily be an advantage.

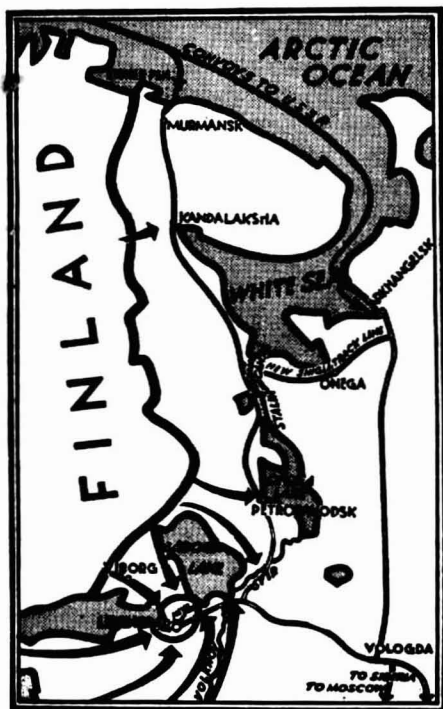
THE CORRIDOR OF DEATH

Nowhere are conditions during the summer months more favorable for the German attack on Allied shipping than in the Arctic. Here the convoys must pass through relatively narrow waters, bordered by Scandinavia on the one hand and by Spitzbergen and the arctic ice cap on the other, and along the Norwegian coast, the hideout for German planes, subs, and other craft. All these can operate twenty-four hours a day without letup, as the arctic summer

knows no night, and they are always close to their prey without having to travel thousands of miles as in the case of the Caribbean Sea or the waters off the US east coast. Never before in the history of convoying has one single convoy lost as many as 35 out of 38 merchantmen, as happened in the arctic waters early in July of this year. Although sinkings in the arctic are usually not listed separately, even the occasional figures published indicate that, from January to July 10, 1942, at least 96 ships totaling more than 500,000

tons were sunk there. Hence Germany might be interested in keeping this corridor of death open for Anglo-American ships.

Besides, there is no indication that the USSR has been substantially aided in her struggle by war material from her Allies. After visiting the battlefields of Kharkov, a Japanese reporter wired that even there, where the Russians had assembled their most powerful forces for the attack planned by Timoshenko, the proportion of Anglo-American tanks was not more



The Finnish Front

than twenty per cent, and that the number of American-made planes had been negligible.

THE FROZEN FRONT

If one wants to visualize what the front looked like on December 8, 1941 when the German High Command proclaimed the transition from the offensive to the winter defensive, one must draw a straight line from Schluesselburg near Leningrad to Taganrog on the Sea of Azov. The front more or less followed this line with two exceptions—the small point towards Tikhwin and the large one towards Moscow. These two points were now withdrawn, first, to shorten the front, and secondly, to force the Reds in the exceptionally important region west of Moscow to return to the territory they had destroyed on their retreat. The shortened line created by these moves was held for the next five months.

The Red High Command did, of course, attempt to exploit the winter. With its troops, who were better accustomed to the climate and who, in part, had been brought from Siberia, it sought to penetrate the German lines and to destroy the European armies through a combination of winter and war, or at least to weaken them to such an extent that they would no longer be able to resume large-scale operations in the following summer. The chances of the Reds to break through were all the better because their enemies' front had been thinned considerably in order to withdraw as large a part as possible of the armies from actual fighting so as to prepare them for the battles of the coming year. The determination and ruthlessness with which the Red troops, in spite of their huge losses, were continually thrown against the German positions, as well as the exceptional cold of the bitterest winter in a hundred and forty years, were a severe test for the fighting qualities of the European armies. Chancellor Hitler, who, in view of the difficult position, himself took over the Supreme Command of the German Armed Forces on December 19, 1941, said in his speech of March 15, 1942:

"By superhuman effort and by putting into the scales their last ounce of energy of body and soul, German soldiers and their allies have stood this test and overcome it."

MAN AND MASS

During those months, the press of Germany and Europe was filled with accounts describing the bitterness of the struggle without euphemism. We quote here as an example the account of a young German front-line reporter:

"People at home can hardly imagine the demands in hardship, will power, and personal sacrifice made on our soldiers by the defensive battle in the east. Above all on our infantry. They form the foremost line, they are the nearest to danger. They see nothing these days but snow and ice and desolate vastness. They know nothing but danger and struggle against Man and Nature. Cold and blizzards shake them, and, when they eat, one hand still holds the rifle. It is a struggle against the forces of Nature, against snow, cold, and ice, a struggle to safeguard their supplies. There are difficult hours when ammunition runs low and the enemy constantly sends new waves of men into the attack, hours when the soldier in the foremost line waits in vain for food and drink, because the supply column has got stuck in the endless sea of snow and blizzard.

"Again and again the Bolsheviks employ the combination of artillery, tanks, airplanes, and infantry. Mass seems to be the god the Bolshevik command is serving. They believe that sheer numbers are of decisive importance. But it is just here in the east that it has become apparent that Man, that the value of the individual soldier decides in the battle against the majesty of numbers and mass. This struggle has proved how decisive a role is played by the spiritual determination of each single soldier."

THE UNBROKEN CHAIN

We have not shown on our map the changes in the eastern front during the winter and spring because there are no clear details available concerning them. It is known, however, that the Red troops succeeded in penetrating deeply into the territory occupied by their enemies at various points of the northern sector, for



German sappers smol-
ing out the enem-
with a flame-thrower

Rumanian air officers, who
fly German Heinkel bombers
against the Soviets, chatting
with a German comrade



A German infantry corporal with his pet, a
buzzard caught in the front lines



A moment's rest for the infantry man
on the march



Getting ready for the morrow. Polishing his boots is the last job in a soldier's day

instance, at the Volkhov front between Lake Ladoga and Lake Ilmen, and at the sector between Lake Ilmen and Lake Seliger, in the vicinity of Rjev, as well as on the southern front in the vicinity of Lozovaya and on the Kertch peninsula. But nowhere did they manage really to make use of their successes, and the chain of important bases which the European armies had occupied after the transition to the winter defensive—Schluesselburg, Novgorod, Kholm, Rjev, Vyazma, Oryol, Kursk, Belgorod, Kharkov, Slavyansk, Taganrog—remained firmly in the hands of the latter throughout the winter. The Reds succeeded nowhere in breaking through on a wide front, much less in rolling it up. They were able on no single occasion successfully to carry out the German *Keil-Kessel* tactics. Wherever they penetrated, they left behind them the doorposts of those strongholds just enumerated, whence in early summer the European armies could close the gates behind those Red troops which had penetrated.

The fact that, through the transition to the defensive, the German High Command left the initiative for several months to the Red armies, encouraged the Kremlin and its Allies in their hope of assuming a large-scale offensive in the summer against their enemies weakened by the winter battles. For this purpose, all the human material still available in this great country after its heavy losses in the previous summer was mobilized in a manner unique in history and put, on the one hand, into the production of armaments and, on the other, into newly created army formations.

NEW MASSES MOBILIZED

While millions of Red soldiers were battering the enemy positions during the winter, new armies of millions were organized. The following is taken from another German front-line report of that time:

"In the staff offices of our armies, whose main duty it is to collect and study enemy news, the reports coming in daily from countless sources constantly reveal the results of

this ruthless employment of the millionfold reserves of human life, which have been sent to their doom since the middle of December by those in power in the Soviet Union. Based on the questioning of prisoners and deserters and supplemented by the results of patrol actions and air observation, a gigantic picture arises of what the Soviets have assembled in the months since the smashing battles of destruction of the summer and autumn campaign.

"Far behind the battlefront, behind the Volga and the Ural, in Siberia and at the borders of the Near East, formations are active which, in numbers, represent an entirely new army of attack against the countries of allied Europe. Sometimes it is the fragments of infantry divisions destroyed in the first *Kessel* battles which were led back in September and October into the districts of replenishment in the central parts of the Soviet Union and which have been used as the framework for such new formations. In many cases trained soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers, and civilians were withdrawn from troops still standing at the front and used as a core for training entirely new formations. Such new Siberian or Ural divisions contain no more than ten per cent of thoroughly trained men. More than two thirds are newly conscripted reservists, many of them older men, who have had a rough training—usually without weapons—lasting several weeks. The rest is made up of absolutely untrained, recently called-up recruits who have been enrolled to fill up the ranks without any regard to their fighting experience or fighting value.

"The old catchword of the Russian steamroller is now being revived by the Bolsheviks in a manner only possible in the world of Lenin and Stalin. Here the human being, the European or the nomad from the Siberian tundra, the peasant or the worker, no longer counts as an individual. It is only the herd which is valued according to its numbers and the pressure of its masses."

However, Europe was not idle either. Throughout the winter, new weapons were forged all over Europe with an eye to the experiences gained during the first few months of the war; troops were trained; roads, bridges, and railways were built in the occupied territories; and large depots of war material were established. When one considers what it means to prepare over a terrible road system a

1,200-mile front, situated 750 miles and more from the centers of armament, for a vast offensive with millions of men, the miracle of German organization seems almost greater than that of German fighting power.

THEN CAME SUMMER

As was to be expected after an exceptionally severe winter, summer came exceptionally late. The ground had been frozen so deep that it took longer than in normal years for the water of the melting snow to run off and for the vast morass, of which all of Eastern Europe consisted for weeks, to dry to a war theater suited for large-scale movements of motorized mass armies. The delay in the German offensive was regarded and celebrated by the Soviet and Anglo-American press as a proof of the exhaustion of the European armies. But the German command did not allow itself to be disconcerted by this. It knew what it wanted. With purposeful methodicalness it prepared its action. When it saw that the moment had come, it began its operations, not with a great new drive, but by consolidating the territories already conquered, by reoccupying the Kertch Peninsula, by destroying the Red troops who had penetrated during the winter into the occupied territory between the German strongholds, and by the capture of Sevastopol.

We have already briefly dealt with the battles of Kertch and Sevastopol in "The March of War" of our July issue. With Sevastopol, the Soviets lost the only real naval port on the Black Sea. Although their fleet in this sea was never very large (1939: 1 battleship, 1 aircraft carrier, 2 heavy and 4 light cruisers, 2 large and 9 medium destroyers, about 30 motor torpedo-boats, as well as submarines, minelayers, minesweepers, and other small units), it was considerably superior to the fleets of the other nations on the Black Sea and, for that reason, an important factor. Since the Dardanelles are closed to the passage of warships, the Axis powers had no means of bringing their warships into the Black Sea and

putting an end to the superiority of the Red fleet. It is true that a number of Italian speedboats were brought overland from Italy to the Black Sea which proved very valuable in the fighting around Sevastopol. But the main blow against the Red fleet was the capture of Sevastopol, as the ports remaining to the Soviets in the eastern part of the Black Sea cannot be considered seriously as bases for a naval fleet.

CLOSING THE GATES BEHIND THE REDS

Of all the actions taken against the Red armies that had penetrated the German positions, that on the Volkhov River front was the most characteristic and important. In this sector, Red troops had advanced during the winter behind the rear of the German ring surrounding Leningrad from the south. By making use of the numerous frozen rivers, they had received a steady supply of men and material in this trackless area of forests and swamps. The German command had carried out an elastic defense in the face of the Russian inroads; at the same time, however, it had successfully defended the bridgeheads on the Volkhov north and south of the points of penetration. A sort of rubber balloon was created, which was blown up bigger and bigger behind the German front through filling it up with Red units, but which had only a narrow mouth on the Volkhov itself. When the melting snow and ice drove the Red troops out of their swamp hideouts, the German command closed up this mouth. According to the familiar method, the Reds, whose further supplies had thus been cut off and whose weapons got stuck in the thawing bog, were split up into several parts of a *Kessel* and systematically annihilated. On June 28, the German High Command announced the liquidation of this *Kessel*, which had cost the Red armies 50,000 prisoners besides large losses in dead and in material. Events took a similar course at Rjev (40,000 prisoners).

In an attempt to derange the German plans and to snatch the initiative, Timoshenko began a major attack of vast

proportions south of Kharkov, which, however, led to a catastrophe for the Red armies and whose course and collapse we have described in our July issue. The weakening of Timoshenko enabled the German troops to cross the Donets at Izyum in the second half of June in preparation for large-scale action, and, by penetrating into the area of the lower Oskol near Kupyansk, to form starting bases for new attacks.

THE SUMMER OFFENSIVE

With the capture of Sevastopol on July 1, the last of the great Soviet strongholds behind the German front—except Leningrad—had fallen.

For months the world had been talking and writing about the coming great German offensive. But, except for a small circle of men around Hitler, no one, not even the Soviet High Command, knew when and where the offensive would take place. Perhaps Germany would prefer to build an *Ostwall* (East Wall) along the existing front and use the military forces freed thereby in other regions, for example, in the Near East or against the British Isles? So they were kept guessing. In any case, during the long winter months the Red Army had prepared itself for a German attack and, on the basis of its experience in 1941, had built a mighty defense belt between Lake Ladoga and Rostov. It had to attempt to make up by fortifications for the first year's huge losses in men.

On June 28, that is, six days later than in the year before, the storm broke.

Up to the moment of our going to press no comprehensive report has yet been issued by the German High Command regarding the course of the summer offensive up till now. And it can hardly be expected before the present fighting has been completed. Nevertheless, the developments of the past month are more or less known in their large outlines, although reports vary greatly about the methods used by the European troops.

Only the future will show what the final aims of the great summer offensive

are. But its course so far reveals two goals: first, the complete occupation of the Donbass (Donets Basin), whose western half (center: Stalino) had already been occupied in the autumn of 1941, and whose eastern half (main centers: Voroshilovgrad and Shakhty) represented the most important of the industrial areas remaining to the Soviet Union in Europe; secondly, the occupation of the great elbow of the middle and lower reaches of the Don and its transformation into a glacis, from where the European troops could advance either northwards (into the hinterland of Moscow), or eastwards (toward the Volga), or southwards (to the Caucasus). The two goals were combined in an ingenious, bold manner by circumventing the Donbass from the north and reaching an area (Bogutchar and Millerovo) whence both goals could be aimed at simultaneously.

THE BIG DETOUR

After the true German intentions had been cleverly camouflaged, the campaign started under the leadership of Marshal von Bock, the commander of the European southern armies, in an easterly direction at the juncture between the central army of General Jukov and the southern army of Marshal Timoshenko, a place where it had apparently not been expected at all. Within a single week, the whole defense system laboriously erected by the Reds in the triangle Kursk/Belgorod/Voronej was overrun and the Don crossed in its upper reaches. On July 7, Voronej fell and was made the corner tower which was to cover the left flank of the advancing European armies. Bridgeheads were formed on the east bank of the Don. While small detachments advanced towards the last remaining Soviet north/south railway line in European Russia (Moscow / Borisoglebsk / Stalingrad), the main body of the Germans turned at right angles and marched southwards along the Don. Blow followed upon blow. On July 9, Svoboda fell, on 10th Rossosh, and on 11th Bogutchar. Here the armies split up, and, while one army proceeded further eastwards along the

Don toward its elbow, the other army advanced southwards toward Millerovo.

Shortly after the left wing of the army group von Bock had set out from Kursk, the central sector at Belgorod/Kupyansk/Izyum had begun its attack toward the south-east. On July 10, Starobelsk fell and on 11th Lisitchansk, the terminus of the Caucasian oil pipe line. Under the combined pressure of this army and the columns moving southwards from Bogutchar, Millerovo fell into German hands on July 16 and Voroshilovgrad on 17th.

At the same time, and without pausing for breath, other European armies freed through the capture of Millerovo moved southeastwards by the most direct route to the Don, which was reached on 18th between the Don Cossack villages of Tsymlyanskaya and Konstantinovskaya. Here for the second time the German troops made a right-angled turn to the right and stormed along the right bank of the Don toward Rostov from the east.

One might ask in surprise why the Germans, instead of advancing from Taganrog, less than forty miles away from Rostov, had marched on Rostov from Kursk by a detour of seven hundred miles. But the purpose of this extraordinary maneuver became clear when Rostov, attacked simultaneously from the east, the north, and the west, fell into German hands after a few days on July 24.

A CLASSIC EXAMPLE

One can already predict that this campaign lasting less than four weeks (June 28-July 24) will go down in history as a classic example of a battle of encirclement. In an exemplary co-operation of all the fighting branches, a gigantic action was carried out with fascinating efficiency and so smoothly that it might have been a maneuver without an enemy. The clockwork precision of this movement, involving millions of men, vast equipment, and tens of thousands of square miles, is almost miraculous.

The armies which, on their march from Kursk via Voronej/Rossosh/Millerovo/lower Don to Rostov, had to cover a dis-

tance equal to that from Berlin to Paris, were the first to have started. The next to get under way were the armies from Belgorod, Kupyansk, and Izyum, which had to cover only half the distance; and the last (not until July 21) were the troops at Taganrog. They all arrived, one might almost say, to the minute at the great rendezvous before Rostov and, through their encirclement, they captured the city within a few days, a city which the Anglo-American press had, prematurely celebrated as a second Sevastopol. Just as happened once before with the Maginot Line, so the Timoshenko Line had become worthless through the appearance of German troops in its rear.

Simultaneously, and without losing a single day, a number of bridgeheads on the left bank of the Don were captured between Tsymlyanskaya and the mouth of the Don, the town of Bataisk which lies opposite Rostov was taken, and the advance towards the railway line Novorossyisk/Salsk/Stalingrad begun. On July 30, this line was cut by the German forces north east of Salsk.

The encirclement and capture of the eastern Donbass was only one of the tasks of von Bock's army group. The second, the drive into the Don elbow, was carried out simultaneously from Bogutchar and Millerovo. On the day on which Rostov fell, the European armies crossed the River Tchir, and two days later they reached the high right bank of the elbow.

RED SOLDIERS GROW SCARCER

As far as the course of the summer campaign of 1942 up till now can be surveyed, it seems to differ from that of 1941 in that no Kessel battles of large extent have taken place. The number of prisoners taken announced by the German High Command (119,000 up to July 15) is very much lower than the figures for the preceding year. The Soviet Union seems no longer to have such large masses of troops at its disposal as she was able to sacrifice so recklessly last year. This has led to Timoshenko's decision, revealed in the order of the day quoted by us, to

withdraw his troops from hopeless positions instead of letting them fight to the last in *Kessels*. The shortage of men on the Soviet side, a characteristic of the battle of the last four weeks, is proof that the German figures on Soviet losses in the battles of Kertch and Kharkov (see "The March of War," July 1942) were not exaggerated. The 750,000 men and the thousands of tanks, planes, and guns Timoshenko lost in these two battles were a great deficit for him during those last four weeks. Even the study of the Soviet communiqués does not offer a picture of organized Soviet defense in the Donets/Don area.

The only points where the Red armies have been fighting furiously during the last four weeks and have gained some ground are on the central Russian front, which was not affected by the blood-letting of Kertch and Kharkov. Since the Red High Command could reply to the German thrust into the Donets/Don area only by rapid retreats and comparatively short rearguard actions, as in the case of Rostov, it attempted to endanger the left flank of von Bock's armies. Since the beginning of July, the Red armies have carried out ceaseless attacks with large masses of troops and material against all three towers sheltering this left flank—Bryansk, Oryol, Voronej. However, they were not able to interfere with the march of the German armies in the Don loop.

During the first part of July the Soviets and their Allies tried to convince themselves that Timoshenko's newly adopted tactics of "elastic defense" and voluntary withdrawal were just the right thing as they considerably decreased the number of prisoners falling into German hands. But the resulting rapidity of the German advance has thrown them into a panic, and they again have changed their mind. Only a few weeks ago Timoshenko had told his troops that they "should not devote their ambition to holding positions at any cost but should retreat," yet on July 30, the most influential newspaper of the USSR, the *Pravda*, wrote exactly the opposite

when it implored: "Every shred of territory given up weakens us, and he who abandons positions without having done everything to defend them is a criminal in the eyes of the Soviet people."

THE SECOND FRONT

Exactly two months ago, on May 26, the Soviet Union signed a treaty of alliance with Great Britain in which the latter undertook "to render all possible military or other assistance in the war against Germany." Molotov returned from the same journey with a promise of Roosevelt's to open a second front. This promise was incorporated in the official communiqué in Moscow (June 11) in the following words:

"During these conversations [between President Roosevelt and Foreign Commissar Molotov] a full understanding was reached on the urgent need for the creation of a second front in Europe in 1942."

In the two months which have passed since Molotov's return, the Soviet Union has had to suffer the catastrophe of the Kharkov battle and the loss of Sevastopol and the Donets/Don area. What have her Allies done to carry out their promise? The USA has not yet undertaken any military action whatever; and the British, apart from air raids on German cities and a serious defeat in North Africa, have also nothing to show.

It is an inherent weakness of the so-called "united nations" that each of them would like to burden the other with the main load of the war. Just as the Soviet Union hoped from 1939 till 1941 that Germany and the western European powers would destroy one another while she would be the winner in the end, England and the USA now hope that the Soviet Union and Germany may bleed each other to death. By the promise of a second front they have encouraged the Soviet Union to continue her fight against Europe, which has resulted in terrible losses for Russia.

If no serious efforts are undertaken soon to create a second front with at least a quarter to half a million men, the

moment will come when the Red soldier will feel more hatred for his faithless Allies than for his brave opponents. On July 8 the chief newspaper of the USSR, the *Pravda*, vigorously attacked "hesitating, cowardly, and incapable people who do not realize that, by delaying their attack, they give more chances to the enemy." Although we do not overestimate the personal feelings of the Red soldier in their effect on Stalin's policy, yet they are not quite without influence. We might, perhaps, point out that, after all, the desire for separate peace represents an old tradition of Russian foreign policy (St. Petersburg 1762, Tilsit 1807, Brest Litovsk 1918).

WHAT LOZOVSKY HAS TO SAY

We have based our review of the course of the fighting mainly on the German communiqués and on commentaries appearing in the world's press. The army communiqués of the Soviet Government, issued twice a day by the Soviet Bureau of Information (*Informbureau*) through the Soviet Tass News Agency, have proved too unreliable. In order to enable our readers to form their own idea of the quality of the official Soviet reports, we quote here some of them from the time of the final struggle for Sevastopol. During those days, when the attention of the whole world was directed at the fortifications around that naval port and a battle of unprecedented fury was taking place there, the Soviet Informbureau had the following to say:

On June 5: "During the night of June 3/4 there were no important changes at the front." (This was when the main attack on Sevastopol began.) We find exactly the same words in communiqués of June 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20, and 23.

The name of Sevastopol appeared for the first time in the communiqué of June 8: "In the sector of Sevastopol, serious fighting has been going on for three days. All attacks are being repulsed successfully and with great losses for the Germans." From then onwards the stereotyped phrase was constantly repeated that the enemy

attacks on the Sevastopol sector were being successfully repulsed and that the Germans were suffering great losses, as, for example, on June 9, 11, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 29.

AS EASY AS THAT

On June 20 a little variation appeared when it was said that the enemy was continuing his attacks "in spite of his extremely high losses," but was being repulsed. (A regular study of the Soviet communiqués shows that the situation at a given sector has always become particularly critical for the Soviets when emphasis is placed on the extremely high losses of the opponent.)

On the evening of June 22 the Informbureau admitted for the first time a German success. Although the report began with enemy attacks being repulsed, the sentence was added: "At the cost of enormous sacrifices, the enemy succeeded in penetrating our defenses."

In the communiqués of June 24, 25, 26, and July 1, the "superior forces" of the enemy were referred to which had been repulsed.

On June 23 and 29 and July 1, 2, and 3, only "fighting" was mentioned in the Sevastopol sector. From time to time heroic deeds of individual soldiers and officers or individual small detachments were reported instead of comprehensive communiqués, as, for instance, on June 24, 26, 27, 28, and 30.

On the evening of June 30 it was said: "The enemy has brought new reserves into the battle, and at the cost of heavy losses he succeeded in pushing forward slightly. The fighting is of an extraordinarily bitter nature."

On July 2: "In the Sevastopol sector the enemy succeeded in advancing at the cost of tremendous losses. Bitter hand-to-hand fighting is taking place."

On July 3: "In the Sevastopol sector our troops carried on bitter hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy at the city limits."

On the morning of July 4: "In the Sevastopol sector fighting was continued in the streets of the city."

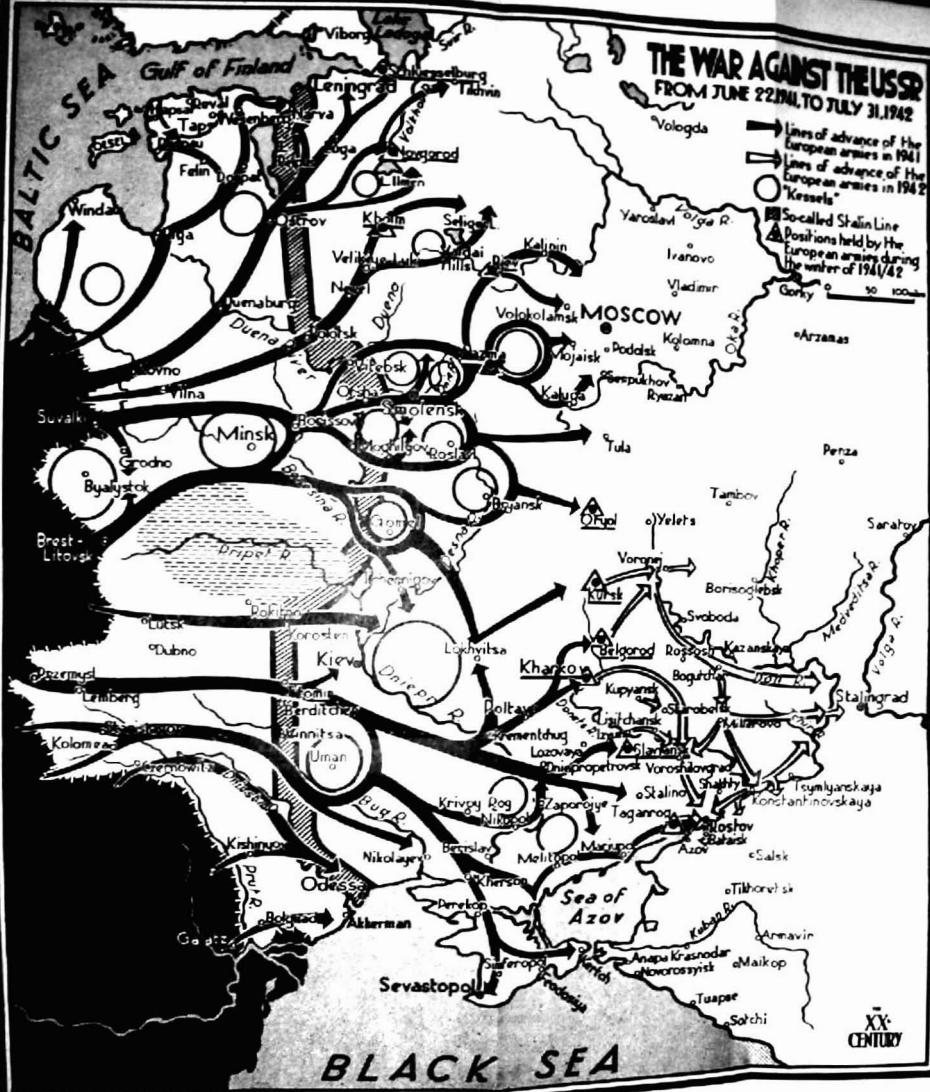
On the evening of July 4: "After eight months of heroic defense, our troops have given up Sevastopol."

So the study of the official Soviet communiqués results in the following picture:

THE WAR AGAINST THE USSR FROM JUNE 22ND TO JULY 31, 1942

- Lines of advance of the European armies in 1941
- Lines of advance of the European armies in 1942
- "Kessels"
- ▨ So-called Stalin Line
- ▲ Positions held by the European armies during the winter of 1941/42

0 50 100 km



Up to the morning of June 22 the German attacks had always been repulsed; on June 22, June 30, and July 2, the Germans managed to advance slightly; on July 3 there was hand-to-hand fighting at the city limits; and on July 4 one of the strongest fortresses in the European war theater had fallen. Just like that!

Official communiqués which remain silent on important events such as the successive captures of one Soviet fort after another (Fort Stalin fell on June 14, Fort Siberia on June 17, Fort Maxim Gorki on June 18, Fort Lenin and Fort Molotov on June 21, Sevastopol itself on July 1), and which content themselves with vague phrases, can neither be taken seriously nor considered as good propaganda from the Soviet point of view, as, in such circumstances, these communiqués are no longer regarded as authoritative even by the Allies of the Soviet Union.

We have chosen Sevastopol as an example because this was a comparatively short compact battle in a small area, so that the reports can fairly easily be surveyed and compared to actual events. But other reports of the Informbureau offer the same picture.

We have limited ourselves purposely to the official communiqués of the Informbureau. The reporting of less official organs is even more incredible. On June 30, that is to say, a few hours before the fall of the city, a Russian-language Soviet paper in Shanghai, for instance, still carried the chief headline "Sevastopol is impregnable (*neuyazvim*)."

THE PRICE

On the anniversary of the outbreak of war on the eastern front, the German High Command announced the losses of the German Army during the first year of war to have been 271,000 killed and 65,000 missing. At the same time Rumania announced that her army had suffered approximately 45,000 killed and missing and about 105,000 wounded. There are no comprehensive figures available yet on the losses of the other allies. But on the basis of the German and

Rumanian figures one can approximately estimate that Europe's campaign against Bolshevism has cost her some 350,000 to 400,000 dead during its first year. As appalling as these figures are, as irreplaceable as each single one of these dead is for his relatives and for the future reconstruction of Europe, they are nevertheless surprisingly low compared to what has been achieved and compared to the losses of the Great War, or if one compares them to the fact that, according to American statistics, 102,500 people were killed in 1941 by accidents in the United States.

The much higher losses during the war of 1914/18, in which Germany and Austria-Hungary alone lost an average of three quarters of a million every year, are to be explained by the fact that, except for short periods of movement, the front was rigid during those years, and that the war consisted mainly of masses of infantry dashing themselves against fortified enemy positions, which caused terrible sacrifices in men. In the present war the situation is quite different. On the one hand, the war consisted of continuous movement, with the exception of the winter months, when the European armies wisely limited themselves to the defensive and hence suffered comparatively small losses. On the other hand, the attacks were chiefly carried out, not by the infantry, but by mechanized and aerial forces. Above all, the training of the German armies and the co-operation of the various armed formations have reached so high a level that even the most difficult actions, such as the capture of Sevastopol, could be carried out with a minimum of losses.

We do not know the total number of European troops involved in the struggle against the USSR, but we do know that additional millions are guarding the frontiers of Europe from the North Cape to Crete.

As regards the losses of the Red Army, the Soviet Government announced on June 23, 1942, that they amounted to four and a half millions in dead, wounded, and prisoners. As, according to German

reports, the Soviet losses in prisoners alone surpass the figure named by Moscow, the latter appears to be several times too low. But even if, as will be the case in the anti-Axis camp, it is considered to be correct, it shows the extent of Red losses. Whatever the correct figure, the losses of the Soviets were incomparably higher than those of their opponents. They suffered them, first, in the endless succession of *Kessel* battles, in which, without ever having had the initiative or being able to move properly, they were destroyed or captured by the superior arms of their enemies, and then during the winter, when, although they finally gained the initiative, they had to attack the strong positions of their enemies, which again caused them to suffer terrible losses.

As a result of the *Kessel* battles, an endless stream of Soviet prisoners has been moving westward. According to German reports, the Soviets have so far lost approximately five million men in prisoners. This figure is not as fantastic as it may seem at the first glance, if one bears in mind that a single *Kessel* battle, that of Kiev—the most successful one, it is true—brought in 675,000 prisoners.

In view of the nature of the war, the number of prisoners taken by the Soviets is small and probably limited to a part of those reported as "missing." Unfortunately the International Red Cross has tried in vain to obtain information on their fate. The Soviet Government has refused to supply such information, which gives reason for gloomy conjectures.

THE PERSPECTIVE

In this long article we have retraced the steps of the last thirteen months at the eastern front. We have not glossed over facts but have tried to represent them as they appear from a serious study of all available material. To underestimate the strength of the Soviet Union during the past thirteen months or even today would be not only stupid but an injustice toward the European soldiers fighting against her. Only if one fully realizes the severity of the struggle against the Red Army, against the almost endless space and the rigor of its climate, can one appreciate the greatness of what has been achieved by the European armies in their victorious march from the Memel to the Don.

The force and impetus shown by the armies of Europe since the resumption of the offensive in 1942 justify even the most sober and cautious observer in coming to the following conclusion:

It is only a question of time before Bolshevism is destroyed in Europe, before the Russian people with all its valuable attributes wakes up from the nightmare of Bolshevism and returns to the fold of the European nations, and before the last opponent of a new Europe on the Continent has disappeared. The best of Europe's sons are not staking their lives in vain to regain for Europe the beautiful and fertile country which Bolshevism has torn from the community of peoples. From the graves of those fallen in this struggle will arise the seed of a new era.



PORTUGAL—ONE OF THE LAST NEUTRALS

By K. H. ABSHAGEN

We all read so much about the belligerents that we are apt to forget that there are still some neutral countries left. In an earlier article we defined neutrality as being "the ability of a country to choose one of three possibilities—to stay out of the war, to join one side, or to join the other."

It may be mere chance or it may have a deeper significance that, among the small group of nations which can still claim to be in this position, three of the most important are of Iberian stock—Portugal, Argentina, and Chile.

The average person thinks of Portugal as a small country at the extreme southwestern end of Europe, forgetting that, in addition, Portugal possesses a colonial empire twenty-five times her size, the remnant of her glorious past and, for her citizens, very much a thing of the present.

It certainly requires extraordinary skill to steer the Portuguese ship of state through the many rocks of European and world politics and to preserve Portugal's neutrality in three years of world conflict. It was accomplished by one of the outstanding men of our time, Dr. Salazar. The author of the following article is well known to our readers by his articles "Society Dies Hard" (December 1941) and "The Road to the War of Greater East Asia" (January 1942). He spent several years as a correspondent in Portugal and is now in Tokyo.—K.M.

A MAN AT WORK

SOME time last year a foreign diplomat, who had only recently arrived in Lisbon, had some urgent business to discuss with the Portuguese Foreign Office. The time of day was ten in the morning, so he got on to the Ministry by telephone. However, when he asked for the officials of the department concerned, one after the other, the young lady at the telephone invariably answered that the man in question was not at the office or not in his room. At last, after a lengthy conversation, she told him that, with the exception of herself, some doormen, charwomen, and other underlings, there was practically no one—certainly no one of authority—in the Ministry at such an unearthly hour. Work would not begin in earnest until later in the day. No, there was no one present in the mornings, "except, of course, His Excellency the Foreign Minister," who would normally be in at nine o'clock sharp, "but he does not want to be disturbed by being called on the phone. You see, he is working."

The lonely Foreign Minister who works every morning all by himself in the stately Ministry near the Tagus is no less a person than Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, at the same time Prime Minister, Minister of War, and—till not so very long ago—also Minister of Finance. It was in the latter capacity that he first became known and laid the foundation for his international reputation as a statesman of energy and resource. One can easily understand that a man of so many responsibilities cannot afford the leisurely methods of work which tradition and climate have made the normal thing in the Iberian peninsula.

But there is a much deeper significance in the vision of Dr. Salazar, all alone, day after day, reading reports, drafting notes, and making decisions on the foreign policy of his little country and its far-flung colonial empire. As a matter of fact, well-informed people in Lisbon say that the reports of Portugal's ambassadors and envoys abroad are opened personally and perused exclusively by Dr. Salazar, and that only excerpts written by the Foreign Minister in his own hand-

writing go to the Undersecretary of State and the departments, while the originals are kept in the Minister's safe. That story may be true, or it may be just a story, but the significant thing is that in serious quarters in Lisbon it is credited or, at least, not thought at all unlikely. So it is clear that the foreign policy of Portugal is directed by one man and one man only.

WHAT IS THE "ESTADO NOVO"?

This foreign policy can only be understood and appreciated when seen against the political background and the personality of the man who governs Portugal today. The present regime in Portugal is usually rather hazily described as some kind of Fascism, but there are very few people outside the country who have a clear picture of the actual state of affairs prevailing there. Undoubtedly there are very definite affinities between the "*Estado Novo*" in Portugal, as the Carmona-Salazar rule calls itself, and Italian Fascism, whose "Corporate State" ideas have to a certain degree served as a model for the Portuguese constitutional changes.

However, there are probably as many differences as there are affinities. To begin with, when General Carmona, fifteen years ago, overthrew the old liberalistic order in Portugal, his regime, though full of the best intentions, was not fundamentally different from previous military governments which, through the revolt of either army or navy, had overthrown their predecessors, only to be forced out in turn by some hostile faction of politicians and generals or admirals.

It was not until Dr. Salazar had been called in by President Carmona to take over the Ministry of Finance and with it the thorny task of putting the Portuguese public household in order after generations of waste and corruption, that the foundations of the *Estado Novo* were truly laid. And even then, when Dr. Salazar succeeded beyond expectations in balancing the budget and re-establishing Portuguese credit to an extent undreamt of for generations, it did not cause im-

mediate enthusiasm throughout the country. For, naturally, these results could not be obtained without imposing sacrifices and hardships on many, by enforcing retrenchment, by cutting down graft where many had been used to living on graft, by increasing work, and by impinging on the leisure of a people of leisurely habits and inclinations. All this was enforced from above by a strong though benevolent hand. It was not the result of a popular movement like National-Socialism in Germany or Fascism in Italy. The popular movement supporting the regime did not come till afterwards, when the constructive efforts and successes of the Government became clear to everybody both inside the country and outside.

A PARADOX OF A DICTATOR

But even now, after he has long been not only Prime Minister but the unquestioned leader of his state and people, Dr. Salazar does not enjoy a popularity comparable to the feelings with which Adolf Hitler or Benito Mussolini have inspired their followers and their nations as a whole. Dr. Salazar is not at all the type of man to inspire any people, let alone a temperamental Latin nation. He is a paradox of a dictator. The great majority of Portuguese have never seen the man who for more than ten years has been at the helm of their ship of state. He rarely speaks in public and, if he does, his speeches are devoid of inspiring oratory. They remind one much more of the lectures of the professor of economics of Coimbra University—that is what Salazar was up to the moment when he was called to take charge of the State's finance—than of a tribune's fiery rhetorics. If today Dr. Salazar's Government is firmly established in the whole country, this is certainly not due to demagoguery but to sound merit. For its activities have not only put the country's finance on a sound basis, but given internal peace and an efficient and orderly administration to a country that for decades had been undermined by continuous political unrest and warped by corruption.

Of course, this reform work could not be performed without interfering in many cases with old, established habits and vested interests. Therefore the esteem enjoyed by the Government and its chief in the overwhelming majority of the nation has not so much the character of overflowing enthusiasm as that of great respect. For the nation is keenly aware of the fact that Dr. Salazar, in spite of being sometimes a rather hard taskmaster, is simply indispensable, unless the country is to revert to the evil conditions of the past.

ONE - EYED OPPOSITION

Still, there are forces in the country which, for obvious reasons, do not feel too happy about the present regime. They are to be found mostly among what is usually known as the intelligentsia. To get a true perspective of the importance of these people, one must keep in mind the fact that Portugal is a nation with a very low percentage of literacy. When General Carmona became President of the Republic in 1926, the proportion of illiterate persons over seven years was estimated at seventy-five per cent. As late as 1940, a leading Lisbon newspaper gave two thirds of the population as a likely figure for those who can neither read nor write. In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king, and so in Portugal a man who could not only read and write but whose gifts enabled him even to write a newspaper article felt—until the present regime came into

power—entitled to take a leading part in the political life of the country.

However, in a regime that has done away with parliamentary squabbles and has concentrated on sober constructive work there cannot be many openings in leading positions for people whose intellectual abilities consist mainly in the art of writing critical essays. To this must be added the fact that for generations

many young Portuguese have spent at least part of their university years in Paris, where most of them were imbued with the tenets of the French leftists. This is another good reason why a large part of the Portuguese intelligentsia is not and never has been any too pleased with Dr. Salazar's Government.

A SAFETY VALVE

The method by which Dr. Salazar has limited the potential danger

represented by a considerable number of disgruntled politico-intellectuals shows his keen insight into the character of his countrymen. Taking the substance of power out of their hands, he left them a good deal of freedom to air their views in the press by limiting censorship to the exclusion of news and views which can be regarded as immediately dangerous to the regime or to the peace and order of the country. By leaving latently hostile elements this opportunity to let off steam and by trusting in their natural disinclination to take action, violent or otherwise, Dr.



Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar

Salazar succeeded to a remarkable degree in checking the danger of internal unrest. He was able to do this with comparative safety, for the widespread illiteracy of the people prevented the tirades of the opposition from influencing the real opinion of the masses of peasant farmers, fishers, and laborers to any extent.

On the other hand, the leniency with which censorship is handled in Portugal explains the discrepancy often to be observed between the Portuguese press and the policy of the Portuguese Government. In fact, Dr. Salazar's press policy has on some occasions even jeopardized Portugal's foreign relations.

THE PLACE OF THE CHURCH

One other factor in Portugal's internal situation should at least be touched upon before trying to draw a picture of Dr. Salazar's foreign policy during the present world conflict. The great majority of the Portuguese people are devout Roman Catholics, and Dr. Salazar himself is a loyal son of the Church of Rome. He graduated from a Jesuit College, and it was there that he made friends with a classmate who is today Cardinal Patriarch, that is to say, the highest dignitary of the Catholic Church in Portugal. The relations between the Portuguese Republic and the Holy See had been impaired by the anti-Catholic measures of a number of Portuguese governments under freemasonic influence, in particular by the prohibition of religious orders and the secularization of Church property. After lengthy negotiations held in complete secrecy, Dr. Salazar succeeded in concluding a new Concordat with the Holy See in 1940, by which he did away with most of the grievances of the Church against the Portuguese State.

He refrained, however, from revoking the separation of Church and State enacted under the revolutionary regime after the overthrow of the monarchy. Though he regards the Church as one of the cornerstones of a sound Portugal, he does not seem to be willing to allow an overwhelming clerical influence in the affairs of state. This attitude may not

be wholly satisfactory from the point of view of some Catholic zealots, but in general Dr. Salazar can count on the support of the Church, which, in Portugal as well as in Spain, is acutely aware of the dangers of communism and the spread of Marxist doctrines.

As far as foreign policy is concerned, however, one must remember that among Catholic intellectuals there are influential circles which, under the influence of Great War reminiscences, have very definite pro-Allied sympathies and make full use of the lenient press censorship to express these so blatantly as sometimes to overstep the line of strict neutrality proclaimed by the Government.

ON THE FENCE

Such is, roughly, the background against which must be judged the foreign policy of Dr. Salazar's Government since the European war broke out in 1939. This foreign policy has so far been carried out with sober realism and restraint. Portugal's situation was, from the very beginning of this war, extremely difficult; and the more the war spread the more difficult did Portugal's situation become. Long before the Allies violated Portuguese sovereignty in Timor, Lisbon was aware of the fact that Great Britain and the United States were casting covetous glances on the island possessions of Portugal in the Atlantic Ocean. The latest events in Madagascar and elsewhere, as well as the propaganda for a "second front" against Germany, are scarcely designed to allay such fears.

The preservation of the integrity of the Portuguese colonial empire is the main aim of Dr. Salazar's foreign policy in these troubled times, and this aim best explains the cautious procedure chosen by Portugal in her dealings with the countries at war. Since the beginning of the war, Portugal has been sitting on the fence, and it has certainly not always been a very comfortable seat. There were strong forces trying to draw Portugal into the Allied camp, and in 1939 there were many people in and outside of Portugal who believed that, within a very

few weeks of the outbreak of the war, Portugal would be in it. There was, of course, the "Auld Alliance" with Great Britain dating back to 1372; there was the more recent memory of Portugal's participation in the last war—though to many the experience did not invite repetition; there was, above all, the recognition of the fact that, as long as Britain and her Allies dominated the high seas, Portugal, with her weak military and naval forces, would not be able to defend for any length of time her far-flung colonial possessions, should she be drawn into the conflict by the opposite side. Besides this, there were also strong leanings towards the Western democracies among the leftist intelligentsia mentioned before as well as among wide Catholic circles.

SYMPATHIES FOR FRANCE

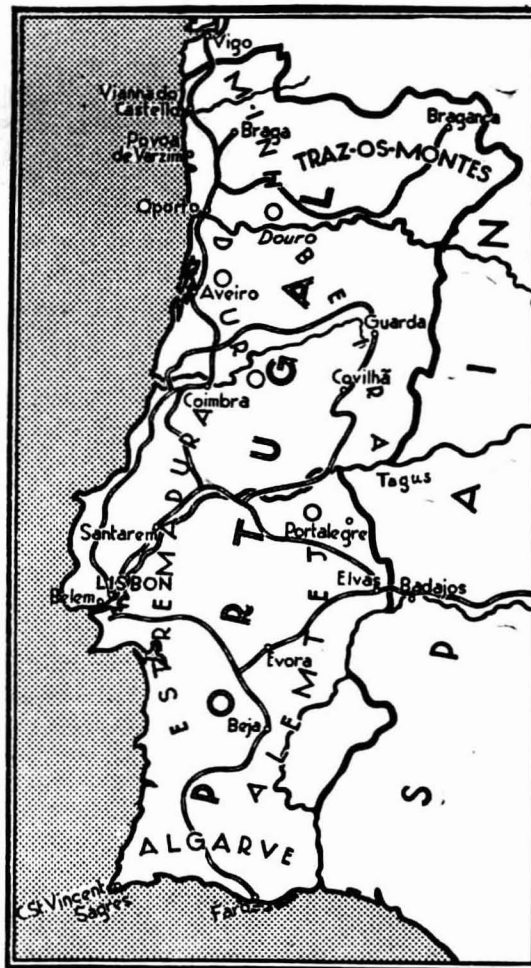
These active pro-Ally sympathies, which sometimes found strong expression in the Portuguese press, were centered primarily on France. Great Britain is the old ally, she is a good customer for Portugal's exports of wine and cork and canned fish, but British aloofness and superiority have made it impossible for the normal Portuguese to feel comfortable in British company. Official politeness on the British side cannot overcome the deep-rooted suspicion that basically the Portuguese remains to the Englishman just a "dago."

How different with France! To many thousands of educated Portuguese, Paris has always represented, not only the peak of human culture, but also the playground of their student days, the source of education and enlightenment, and the scene of their youthful—and sometimes not so youthful—escapades and indiscretions. The alliance with Britain was mainly a matter of £.s.d., the friendship for France a strong sentimental bond. Hence the collapse of France in the summer of 1940 violently shook the pro-Ally section in Portugal, although a considerable part of the intellectuals and confessed or secret leftists remained negative, hostile, and lacking in understanding towards Germany.

On the other side there were, from the beginning of the war, those who saw the common interest between Portugal and the powers who are fighting for a new order in Europe. Not that the idea itself of this new Europe caught on very quickly. Portugal does not really turn her face towards the European continent but looks across the seas towards her colonies. But there are very definite common interests between the present regime in Portugal and the totalitarian regimes in Germany and Italy. This became patent for the first time during the Spanish civil war.

THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

It has not been without influence on the attitude taken by Portugal



since the outbreak of the present war that in Spain the British and French Governments supported that side whose victory could not have been without far-reaching consequences on the domestic situation in Portugal. A Red Spain would in all likelihood, either by propaganda and infiltration or by main force, have overthrown the present regime of peace and created a Bolshevik center of unrest at the southwestern extremity of Europe. Even many otherwise liberalistic people in Portugal, who were not particularly enthusiastic about the Carmona-Salazar regime, were bitterly opposed to this policy of the Western powers in Spain.

The Portuguese Government officially maintained neutrality towards the struggle in Spain; but its sympathies were clearly on the side of the forces of the Caudillo. Moreover, considerable numbers of Portuguese volunteers fought against the Reds in Spain, side by side with Germans and Italians, thus giving practical expression to the common interests existing between the present regime in Portugal and National-Socialism and Fascism. These common interests persist to this day. Dr. Salazar knows full well that a destruction of the totalitarian regimes of Germany and Italy by the forces of the democratic powers and their Bolshevik ally would sound the death knell of his own lifework in Portugal.

IBERIAN SOLIDARITY

Amid these crosscurrents of opinion in the country and through the backwash of the changing tides of the European conflict, Dr. Salazar has consistently tried to steer a neutral course with the ultimate aim of preserving the integrity of his country and its colonial possessions until the day when peace should be restored. It is worth noting that the recent internal conflict in Spain offered him the cue which made it possible to avoid the most immediate danger to Portugal's neutrality, that is, her alliance with Great Britain.

It seems that in 1939 the British Government had to some extent become

the victim of its own propaganda, which throughout the Spanish civil war had alleged that German and Italian assistance to General Franco had had no other object than to gain military bases in the rear of France and Great Britain. Therefore, in 1939 the British Government agreed to Dr. Salazar's concluding a neutrality pact with Spain, because that seemed to reduce the imaginary danger of Spanish intervention on the side of Germany. When in June 1940 this pact was strengthened by an additional protocol which foresees mutual support against any threat to the integrity of either of the contracting parties, Great Britain, having favored the initial stages of this policy, could not very well object to its logical continuation, although for all practical purposes it invalidated the Anglo-Portuguese alliance.

The policy of Iberian solidarity, which forms the backbone of Dr. Salazar's efforts to avoid being drawn into the war, has the additional value, from the Portuguese point of view, of allaying the fears that the Pan-Iberian tendencies existing in some quarters of nationalist Spain might at any moment threaten Portugal's independence.

As the war lengthened out and extended its range to the farthest corners of the world, Dr. Salazar not only continued but steadily intensified his co-operation with Spain. His visit to Seville last February, where he met General Franco and his Foreign Minister Serrano Suñer, was the first time he had left his own country since he became Prime Minister.

ALLIED THREATS AND INTERFERENCE

At the beginning of the war the German Government gave an assurance that Germany would respect the integrity of Portugal proper and her colonies as long as Portugal remained neutral. It has strictly adhered to this promise. In the Anglo-Saxon camp, on the other hand, voices were heard from a very early date onwards which in Lisbon were rightly understood to menace its overseas possessions, particularly the Azores and Cape

Verde Islands. The most outspoken threats came from the United States, where not only the press but senators and even President Roosevelt himself were responsible for utterances which Portugal could not but take very seriously. That she did so, and that she is determined not to yield to threats without more than formal resistance, was shown by the repeated dispatch of reinforcements to the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, and Mozambique. The Government was, however, taken unawares by the invasion of Timor by Australian and Dutch troops in December 1941, an act by "friendly" powers which must have been very disappointing to those circles in Portugal which had so far sympathized with the democracies.

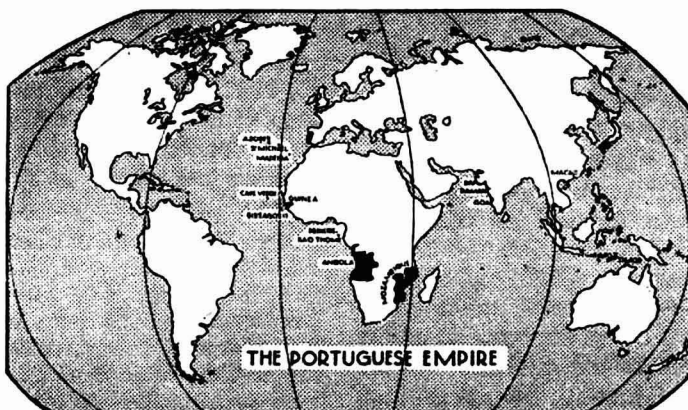
There are other reasons as well for Portugal to feel aggrieved against Great Britain. To an ever increasing extent, the British Government has interfered with Portugal's legitimate overseas trade with neutral powers and even with the internal communications of the Portuguese empire. Not even the mail between Portugal and her colonies is spared the indignity of being censored by Britain. By refusing navicerts for vital necessities, such as tin plate from the United States for the Portuguese canning industry, Britain tried to blackmail Portugal even to the extent of interfering with her trade

with the European continent. More than once the Portuguese Government has chosen to yield rather than to risk open conflict.

BIG ARMY FOR SMALL COUNTRY?

This meek attitude in the face of continuous provocation is explained by responsible Portuguese quarters with the military weakness of the country. There are people in Portugal who believe that more energetic measures of rearmament

taken in time, i.e., before the outbreak of the war or even during its early stages, would have enabled the Government more successfully to stave off these threats to the neutrality and integrity of the Portuguese empire and the actual infringements of its neutral rights. In the summer of 1940, military quarters even expressed open dissatisfaction over the issue of Portugal's



Portugal represents only 4 per cent of the total empire, as can be seen from the following table:

| | Size in sq. m. | Population |
|--|----------------|------------|
| Portugal, (incl. Azores & Madeira) | 35,490 | 7,360,000 |
| Cape Verde Islands | 1,557 | 163,000 |
| Portuguese Guinea (incl. Bissagos Islands)..... | 13,944 | 416,000 |
| São Tomé | 331 | 53,000 |
| Príncipe | 46 | 6,900 |
| Angola | 487,788 | 3,545,000 |
| Mozambique | 297,654 | 4,995,000 |
| Portuguese India..... | 1,537 | 600,000 |
| Portuguese Timor..... | 7,330 | 463,796 |
| Macao | 6 | 200,000 |
| Portuguese Empire..... | 845,683 | 17,802,696 |

military weakness. Dr. Salazar, it is reported, persuaded his military advisers that a small country like Portugal could never be strong enough successfully to resist the threats or aggressive acts of major powers, but that on the other hand the possession of stronger armaments might make Portugal too desirable an ally for one or the other parties at war and thus render the preservation of her neutrality even more difficult than in the existing circumstances.

COLONIAL EMPIRE AND NEW ORDER

In the past, the ties connecting Portugal with the rest of the European continent—always excepting Spain—have not been very close. Since her establishment as a national entity in the twelfth century, Portugal has felt herself to be more of an Atlantic than a European nation. Whoever had an opportunity to see the National Exhibition held in Lisbon in 1940 to celebrate the eighth centenary of Portugal's birth must have been struck by the transoceanic trend of the Portuguese mind expressed in the many exhibits. The holding of the 1940 exhibition in spite of the European war seems to have had a double purpose. On the one hand, it was intended to show the countries at war that Portugal was determined to preserve her neutrality and felt confident of being able to do so. On the other, Dr. Salazar clearly wanted to enhance the Portuguese people's pride in the great past of its country and to use this pride as an incentive to future national efforts.

Where does Portugal stand regarding a new European order? In this, as in all other questions today, it is a matter of where Dr. Salazar stands. His attempt to revive the national spirit of Portugal through the memory of the great days of her history does not necessarily conflict with a policy of co-operation with those European nations whose growing unity of purpose finds its present expression in the fight against Bolshevik Russia, a fight which concerns Portugal as much as any other country. From the later phases of Portugal's colonial history, and more particularly from her plight in the present war, a man of Dr. Salazar's realism and clear-sightedness must necessarily have drawn the lesson that a small country with weak means of defense cannot, in a period of the growth of ever bigger economic and political units, enjoy the fruits of its colonial enterprise if left to its own resources.



It has been reported that Dr. Salazar has a very clear understanding of the necessity of Portugal's active co-operation in the new Europe which will emerge from the present war, and that the aim of his neutrality policy is to enable Portugal to enter the new Europe as a full partner with her colonial assets unimpaired. Meanwhile, the development of the world toward the formation of great political and economic units has made momentous progress.

THE SPEECH OF A EUROPEAN

In his latest speech, broadcast on June 25, 1942, Dr. Salazar gave strong indications of his positive attitude towards the new Europe. We quote some of his most striking passages:

"The world today is suffering from materialism, individualism, egoism, and moral disorders. Only the restoration of spiritual values will give peace back to Europe and save her from communism, the foremost enemy, not only of Europe, but of the whole world...."

"The worst mistake committed by Britain was her alliance with Soviet Russia, without worrying about the mortal danger which such an alliance spells for the world...."

"The inability of the democracies during the post-war period to settle the problem of peace is flagrant. Democracy belongs to the past and an era of new order has been born, an era where the synthesis of freedom and community is personified in all those who are waging Europe's war against the unnatural alliance between the reactionary attitude in the West and the nihilism in the East."

* * *

Out here in the East, where the memory of the great deeds of Portuguese explorers and pioneers is alive, there is much sympathy for Portugal in her present difficulties and the hope that she will overcome them in the end and take her due place in the European community of nations.



"EUROPE"?

By

COUNT K. VON DÜRCKHEIM-MONTMARTIN

In these days of emerging "Grossraums," we have asked a Japanese professor and a German philosopher to write about the true foundations of East Asia and Europe. Professor Hara's essay was published in our last issue. Here we present Count Dürckheim's contribution.

Europe's past entitles one to the query whether, in view of two thousand years of constant warfare, such a thing as "Europe" really exists. Count Dürckheim gives a thoughtful answer to this question.

News dispatches from Europe indicate almost every day that there is a growing Pan-European feeling, particularly in the younger generation. This is one of the most encouraging features of our war-torn age. Here are a few items we happened to notice during the last few weeks: a Youth Congress with representatives of fourteen European nations, a musical competition of soloists from all over Europe, an exhibition of painting and sculpture by young European artists, the establishing of an organization for the collection and exchange of European folk music, the meeting of the European Authors' Association with representatives from fifteen nations, and a congress of student-soldiers from all nations participating in the war against the USSR.

During the Great War, Count Dürckheim was an officer in the Bavarian King's Guards and fought in France, Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, and northern Italy. This constituted his first study of European psychology. He made his first intimate acquaintance with Europe's enemy, Bolshevism, when he was put in prison by the German revolutionary government for fighting against the German Reds. Later on he studied philosophy and the psychology of nations; for he believed in the renewal of mankind from the spirit, and in the necessity of all nations co-operating on the basis of the mutual knowledge of each other's national characteristics. He became professor of philosophy at the Pedagogic Academy in Breslau and at the University of Kiel, and traveled a great deal in Italy and western Europe. In 1938 he made his first visit to Japan and returned there in 1940. He is now living in Tokyo.

This article is accompanied by a number of photographs of outstanding examples of European culture.—K.M.

WHAT is Europe? A unity? A multiplicity? Perhaps both at once? Perhaps neither of them? As a rule, when such questions are raised, the economic point of view is put forward in the search for a reply. Thus for most people the New Order of Europe means a systematic planning of the economics of all Europe. Europe is a natural unit of economy—that is the idea. Or people speak of the unity of Europe in the sense of her common destiny. Or Europe is considered a natural unity because she is fighting today against common foes.

UNITY OR MULTIPLICITY?

But can economic possibilities alone form the basis for an enduring unity?

And does not a unity for the fighting of a common foe mean simply a unity for one purpose only, a unity which will disintegrate when the foe has been defeated? These questions are enough to show that the right to speak of Europe as a unity can, if at all, only be derived from a spiritual basis.

Seen from the Orient, Europe appears very largely as a spiritual unity. Of course, a distinction is made today between the political spirit of the states grouped around the Axis and that of their opponents. But this should not obscure the fact that the peoples of the Orient still regard Europe in a light which makes all European peoples appear comparatively uniform. To the Orient,

they all seem to possess the "Western" spirit, the spirit of science, technical progress, and organization, as well as the spirit of individualistic materialism. This, according to Oriental ideas, is the spirit of Man in Europe. And although Asiatics do their best to realize that individualism and materialism have been successfully combated within the sphere of National-Socialism and Fascism, they still find it hard to abandon their original conception of the European spirit, identified as it has been with the "Western" spirit.

MUTUAL MISCONCEPTIONS

Of course, the European does not acknowledge this Oriental idea of Europe, just as the nations of the East do not acknowledge the generalizing conception which the average European has of the Asiatic world. In this conception, the "East" is equivalent to world-negation, emotional vagueness of thought, inability to act, and identification of Man with Nature to a degree which makes it difficult for him to assert himself truly as Man and make Nature his servant.

In reply to this, China, for instance, can with justification point to the world-affirming spirit of her Confucian moral code, just as Japan can point to the successes of her energy and power of organization, without which her present victories would never have been possible. The various nations of the East are conscious of their differences in race, standard of living, cultural level, historical achievement, indeed even in spiritual value, and they have no desire to be considered a homogeneous mass. And yet, when Asiatics are among themselves and look toward Europe, they feel they have something in common, something they are proud of, something which gives them the sense of being closer to the meaning of life than the European. And the nations of Asia feel, not without justification, that this something which they have in common, this something they are proud of, is generally not understood at all by the European.

In just the same way, however, Europeans vehemently contest the Orient's

generalizing conception of Europe. They see in it a caricature of their character and spirit, a distortion of their idea of life through the one-sided emphasis on their technical abilities and material achievements, while their manifold cultural powers are completely ignored. The peoples of Europe are conscious of deep-rooted differences among themselves: eastern Europe as opposed to western Europe, northern Teutons as opposed to southern Latins. Every true European considers these differences as the basis of Europe's cultural wealth, which is more important than all science and engineering. And yet, when Europeans are among themselves, they, too, feel that they have something in common in which they differ from Asiatics, something *they* are proud of, something which, as they believe, renders them closer to the meaning of life and the tasks of mankind on earth than the people of the Orient.

WHAT IS EUROPE?

What is it that is common to all Europe in the spiritual sense? On what is based the hope of finding a firm spiritual foundation for a new Europe? Might there be an intention to Germanize one part and Italianize the remainder? Certainly not. Might perhaps engineering, science, and power of organization—that is, those very things which make Europe appear as a unity in Oriental eyes—form the unifying links? Certainly not. Well then, what is "Europe"? This is also the question Adolf Hitler asked in a speech at the end of last year and which he answered as follows:

"There is no geographical definition of our continent but only a racial and cultural one. The border of this continent is not the Ural but that line which separates the Western conception of life from that of the East."

We shall try to outline the main characteristics of this conception of life.

For the development of the understanding between East and West it was of tragic significance that the Europe presented to the East when the latter





The Theseion of Athens (the Acropolis can be seen in the right background). Monuments of ancient Greece (5th century B.C.)



Head of Hermes, by Praxiteles
(Greece, 4th century B.C.)



Head of David, by Michelangelo
(Italy, 16th century A.D.)

European Heads – 2,000 years apart and yet akin

first opened its doors to European influence was, indeed, to a large extent a victim of its one-sided materialistic development, and that it came to the Orient mainly in its American form. Another distorting factor was that the Orient itself has hitherto mainly been interested in the rational achievements of the European spirit. Thus the Eastern idea of Europe is a resultant of all that which appears to the East as useful, dangerous, or repulsive in Europe.

THE PLACE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

One of the fundamental errors of the East in its valuation of the West is that the latter must be identified with individualism. Here one might interpose: Can it be denied that the European idea of culture accords a central position to the individual? The answer to this is: The true European acknowledges *individuality* but denies *individualism*: he denies the *ego* but strives for *personality*. European culture has always been and will remain a culture which affirms and encourages the individual personality.

But have not the European Axis countries taken up the fight against individualism? Is not their entire strength founded on the fact that they have destroyed individualism in their own countries and have replaced the demands of the individual by the idea of the whole, of the people and the State? In all the years I have spent in the Orient I have rarely met anyone who has known how to solve this apparent contradiction. Time and again the question is put: Everything in Germany is directed today towards the community, yet they always speak of the personality, of the individuality, indeed, of the absolutely decisive role of the individual. How can the one be reconciled with the other? The solution of this apparent contradiction is the first prerequisite for understanding the true European.

Over the gateway of the history of the European spirit are inscribed the words of the Greek poet Pindar of the fifth century B.C.: "Become that which thou art!" The center of our picture of antiquity is held by the creative individual and its immortal works of art. Socrates became the father of European thought because he felt the very personal voice of his heart to be a divine voice and, following its call, demanded that the laws governing the conduct of a community should harmonize with the voice of the human heart.

uity is held by the creative individual and its immortal works of art. Socrates became the father of European thought because he felt the very personal voice of his heart to be a divine voice and, following its call, demanded that the laws governing the conduct of a community should harmonize with the voice of the human heart.

The greatness of the Roman conception of the State is founded upon the fact that the citizens of Rome voluntarily subjected themselves to the community, and in return received from the State a guarantee of their personal belongings and their personal freedom.

Christianity, the religion of the Occident, has for its central idea the immortality of the individual soul. This belief makes Man the center of Creation, lifts him up above Nature, and gives each individual a feeling of the eternal value of his own personality. Luther became an outstanding reformer of Christianity because he re-established the personal contact of the soul with God against the standardizing tendency of the Church. In him arose that fundamental belief of the European soul which is based on the feeling of the eternal significance of the individual soul and the immortal value of its uniqueness.

PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY

This feeling is also the source of that irrepressible desire for freedom and independence which is characteristic of the European, of that urge of each individual to stand on his own feet and to lead his life as much as possible according to his own desires, to choose his wife and occupation, even his master and his leader. All this, however, only has meaning when combined with the determination of the European to assume personal responsibility for what he does.

The European conception of life culminates in the idea of personal responsibility which nobody can relieve one of, in the conviction that, in the final analysis, all life of the human community as well as all culture is founded on the

responsibility of individuals free to decide for themselves. This fundamental idea of the European finds its political fulfillment in the "principle of leadership" of both National-Socialism and Fascism, a principle which builds the life of the State and of the people on the decisions of individuals who are conscious of their responsibility. This attitude found its common cultural fulfillment in Goethe, its religious fulfillment in men like St. Francis and Luther, and its economic fulfillment in the enterprises of a Siemens or a Zeiss.

EGO AND PERSONALITY

As I write these lines about the European belief in the individual, I can clearly hear the cry: There you are—when all is said and done, it is the ego which is the center of life and activity. It is individualism, the cult of the ego, after all!

No! The strong emphasis placed on personal responsibility in the European idea of man indicates that the affirmation of individuality does not mean the affirmation or justification of egoism of any kind. Since ancient times, the high valuation of the individual personality has been founded rather on two essential prerequisites: the negation of the little ego and the *bondage* of individuality.

Master Eckehart, the German mystic of the thirteenth century, once said: "Thou must destroy thy ego to gain thy self." And Luther, who stood for the religious right of individuality with revolutionary force, designates the "absorption of Man in the structure of his ego" as the original sin of mankind, and he calls the ego the devil. What is meant by these seemingly paradoxical words, every one knows from his own experience, for who is not aware of the fact that the small and great vanities and lusts of the "beloved I," its hunger for power and striving for recognition, its desire for material pleasures, are contrary to the innermost roots of his being? These deep roots in us speak to us as our conscience and demand from us a selfless attitude in the community and in the world as well as loyalty toward that

unique something in us that appears as our individual character.

Pindar's "Become that which thou art," Shakespeare's "To thine own self be true," Goethe's "Respect thyself," refer to just this unique, individual shaping of the human and divine in us. And it was just this feeling of the uniqueness of his individual essence as a divine mystery which attracted the early European so much to the Christian doctrine of the immortality of the individual soul.

However, the idea of loyalty and service is inseparable from the feeling of the individual self and the desire for freedom of the European man. This leads us to the second prerequisite for the European affirmation of individuality: its bondage.

THE THREE BONDS

Only when one has recognized in what multiple sense the individuality is bound in the European conception of the personality can one understand the human side of the European spirit.

The idea of serving, of vassalage, of loyalty to one's lord, is the oldest form of this bondage. Besides this, in the course of history three basic forms of such bonds have been developed, whose triple effect makes up the present-day nature of the true European spirit: the bond between Man and God, Man and his humanity, and Man and the nation. The first bond arises from Christianity. The second is the heritage of Greece and of the humanists from the Middle Ages up to Goethe. The third is a combination of the Roman idea of the bond between Man and State and the German idea of the bond between the individual and his people.

The spiritual unity of the European is deeply grounded in this conception of individuality and its triple bond. Whoever violates this conception goes against the true Europe. Wherever the bond with humanity is disrupted, there begins that narrow Chauvinism which sees only barbarians beyond the frontiers of its country. And wherever the bond with

the nation is disrupted, there begins unrealistic internationalism.

MAN AND HIS COUNTRY

The belief in the eternal value of individuality is not limited in European thought to the individual man, but finds its natural continuation in the belief in the eternal value of the individuality of a people. This idea is common to all Europe, especially since Herder gave the world his wonderful conception of a flight of steps of individualities: from the individual to the nation, to the world, to the cosmos, everything overshadowed and penetrated by the individuality of God, steps in which each individuality fulfills the meaning of its life by serving the one above it. This idea is now being developed politically in the conception of the New Order of Europe, in the center of which stands the belief in the individuality of each people and in the natural interdependence of the various national forces in the European whole. It is based on the ideas, on the one hand of the subordination of the individual to his people, and on the other of the inclusion of each individual people as a member in the higher unit which is Europe.

This strong sense of individuality was formerly also one of the reasons for the political weakness of the nations now united in the Axis. In these nations, each individuality had forgotten its higher bonds, and the individual demands of little principalities and cities hindered the unity of the greater nation. Today these dangers have been removed, not through the exclusion and denial of the creative powers of the individuality, but through their inclusion in the life of the higher entity. In the same way the powers of individual enterprise in the economic sphere have not been excluded and sacrificed to an all-encompassing State or an all-commanding central bureaucracy, but included in the economy of the nation.

MAN AND HIS WORK

Beside the belief in the eternal value of individuality stands, as a general char-

acteristic of the European spirit, the bond between Man on the one hand and work and reality on the other. Indeed, this is not just a bond that exists separately: in it alone can those other bonds be realized in everyday life. To it are due those achievements which, shaping the earth and mastering reality, have become the symbols of European civilization.

It is true, the fact that Man has been placed into relationship with the outer world is also responsible for that danger of superficiality and "soullessness" to which for a time the European fell victim. The reproach raised against the European of being a creature that has sacrificed his inner harmony to outer organization, and his heart to science, although true of certain undeniable manifestations of the Western character, does not apply to his spirit as such.

THE BLUNT WEST . . .

The well-known Japanese art historian Tsudzumi has introduced the expression of "framelessness" as the comprehensive characteristic of Oriental art. And indeed, whoever has tried to analyze the nature of Asiatic life and creativeness as opposed to the European always runs up against this strange trait of "framelessness." In contrast to this, the sharply outlined form is symbolic of Europe. Whether it is a precise term, an unequivocal answer, a clearly shaped piece of work, a system of philosophy, a musical composition, a personality or, finally, an economic or political organization, they all exude the atmosphere of a structure clearly outlined in space.

This is just what the Oriental feels to be typically European and foreign. He asks: Why express everything so clearly and bluntly—is not an indication enough? Why outline everything so sharply—is that not contrary to life? In reality, is not everything bound up with everything else through all-penetrating life? Why must you always have a clear Yes or No? Does not real life always contain both in one? Why organize and fix everything down to the last? Does that not contradict ever-flowing life which

runs its course between growth and decay? This European way of sharply outlining everything may be useful or even necessary to certain modern purposes; but as a way of life it is without soul. Real life knows no limits, that which is limited and contrasted is only illusion; that which is limitless is truth and life.

... AND THE VAGUE EAST

The European, on the other hand—how hard he finds it to become used to what to him seems so unclear, so vague, uncertain, disorderly, so intangible in the East! He thinks: Everything is in a state of transition, nothing clearly defined, everything only "approximate." Why not a frank No, when one thinks No? Why only indicate something which can be carried out? Why only a sketch where one expects a painting? Why leave so much in disorder that could with so little effort be tidied up? Why make so many things in such a way that they just barely hold together, why not make them to last? Why only renew something when it is on the point of collapse and not at the first signs of wear? Is it not essential to see and shape reality in clear outline, to make things so that they endure in reality, and to perfect them in a manner corresponding to their inner laws, to their inner nature?

In all these questions a very definite lack of understanding for the other side is expressed.

European thought and creativeness have been determined since ancient times by clear perception. That which antiquity has given us in its glorious statues, that which distinguishes our splendid architecture, the incomparable creations of European music—it is always the same, namely, that they embody this basic European power of perceiving the nature of things in clearly defined forms and of expressing this in works of art.

This perception is not a superficial emphasis on the outward appearance, as it may easily seem. When the Oriental gazes beyond appearances, he perceives the formless origin of all existence, beside

which all visible form is only illusion. When the European gazes beyond appearances, he perceives the essential shape of things beyond all the imperfection of their reality in a given space and time. He measures the imperfection of each form of existence, not by the formless origin of life, but by its essence which aspires toward a very definite shape.

This trait of the European spirit, this perceiving in clear shapes, has never been properly recognized in the rest of the world, for it was, as it were, obscured by that counterforce in European thought: the power of analysis. For in addition to the perception of the indivisible essence there is the urge towards analysis and differentiation, with the final aim, however, of placing the parts into relationship with each other and combining them again into a theory, a rational order, a system—a new entity in which everything has its place. And that which in the field of thought is the system or theory, is in practical life the carefully thought out plan or definite organization. The European hates disorder.

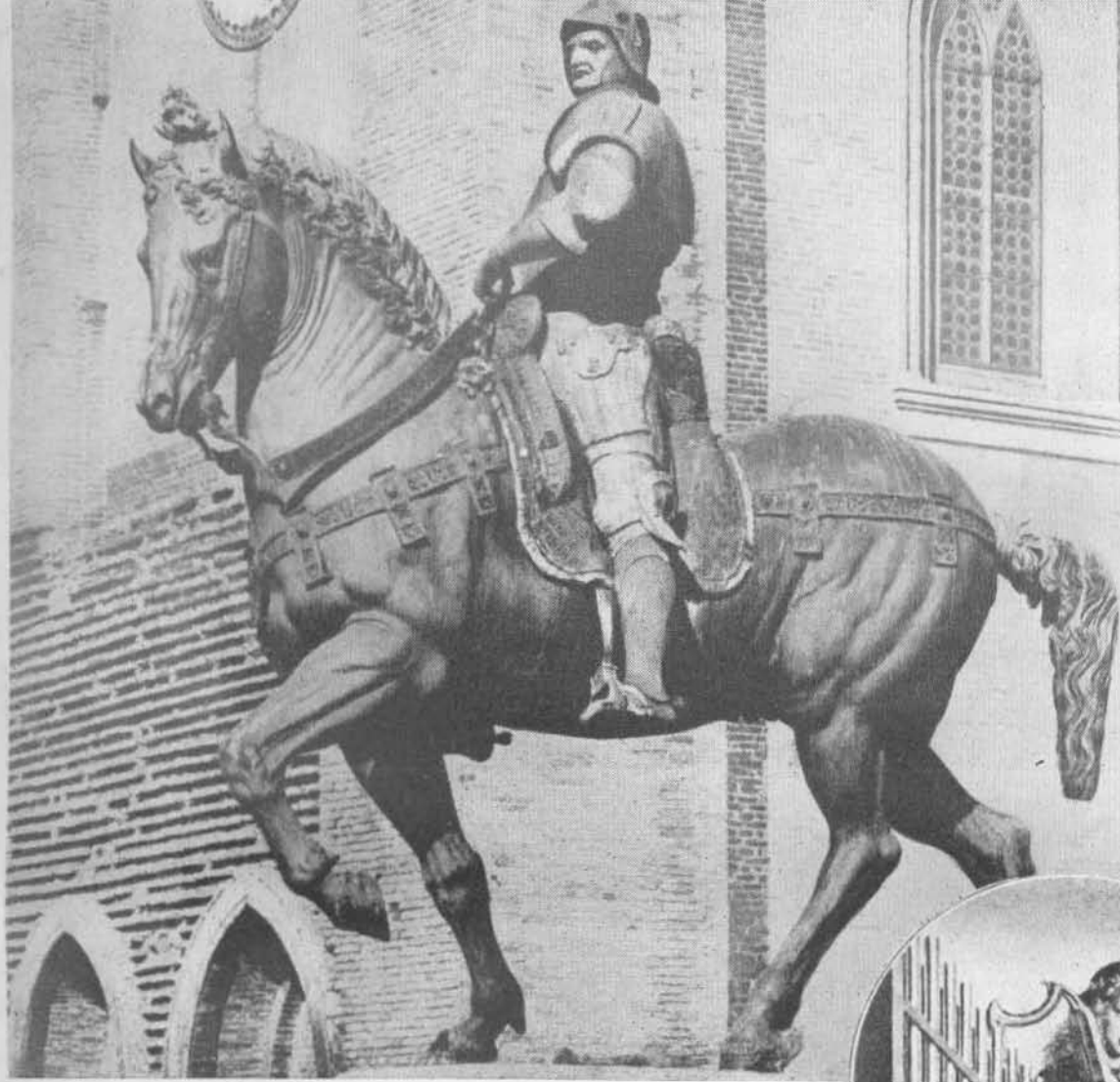
THE URGE TO CREATE

These two basic forms of thought, clear perception and orderly analysis, are combined in the European spirit with a third, that is, the power of faithful, unbiased, unemotional observation of Nature, with the aim of recognizing the laws by which she is governed. This power requires a certain detachment from Nature, a feeling of Man's superiority, and the consciousness of his inner freedom towards the workings of natural forces. From it arose the natural sciences and technical progress, the latter due to one more trait of the European, a trait which has brought him curse and blessing, admiration and contempt: his dynamic energy.

This dynamic urge of the European that knows no rest or quiet is contrasted by the tranquillity of life in its natural rhythm and breathing, the characteristic of the East. Is it not true that the European continues to be active where there is no necessity for it, and that the Oriental continues to remain idle where

EUROPE IS ONE

Samples of European culture from all parts of the continent show great variety growing from underlying unity



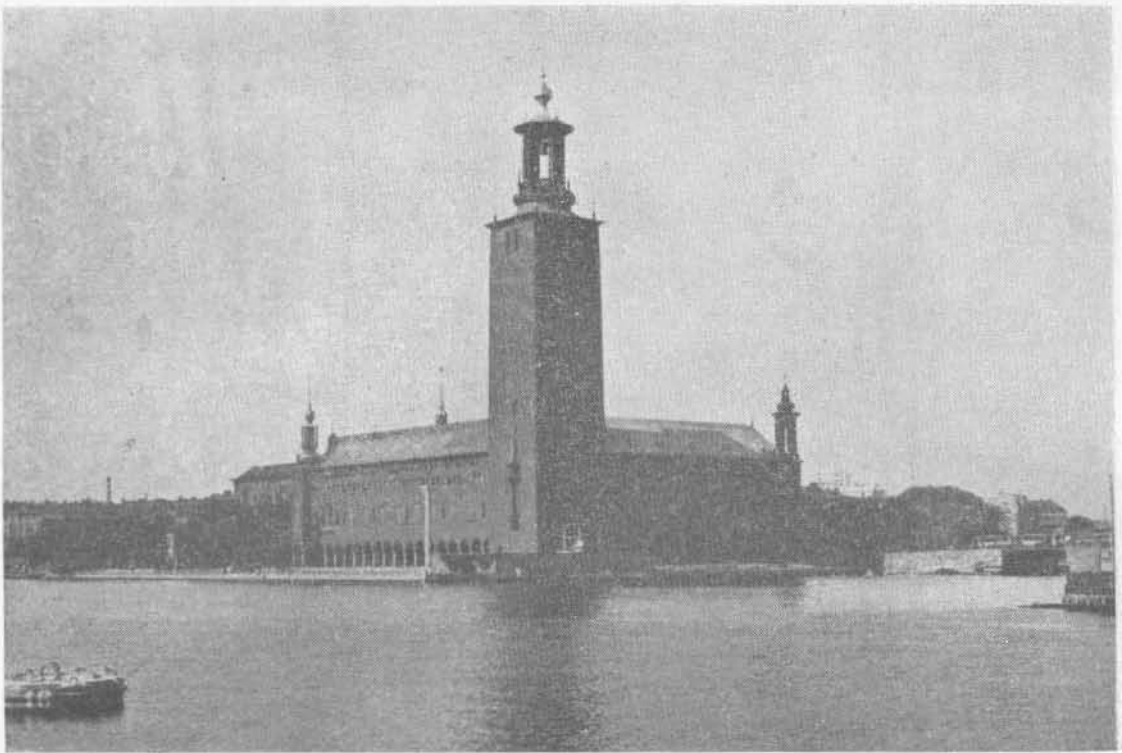
European warrior. Equestrian statue of Bartolomeo Colleoni, by Verrocchio (Italy, 15th century)



Gothic rose window, Strassburg Cathedral (Germany, Middle Ages)



Singing angels, altar piece by the brothers Van Eyck (Netherlands, 15th century)

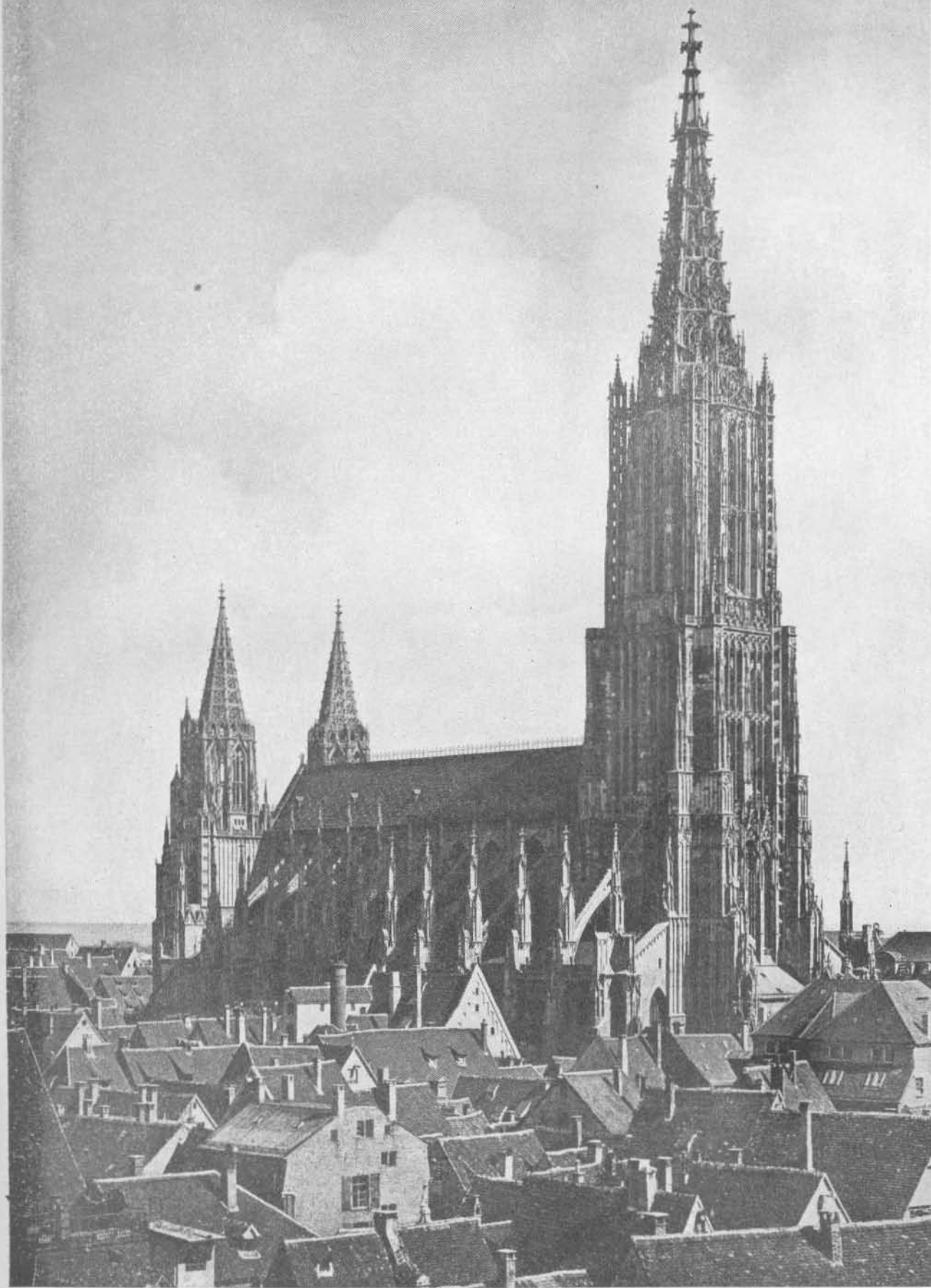


The City Hall of Stockholm (Sweden, 20th century)

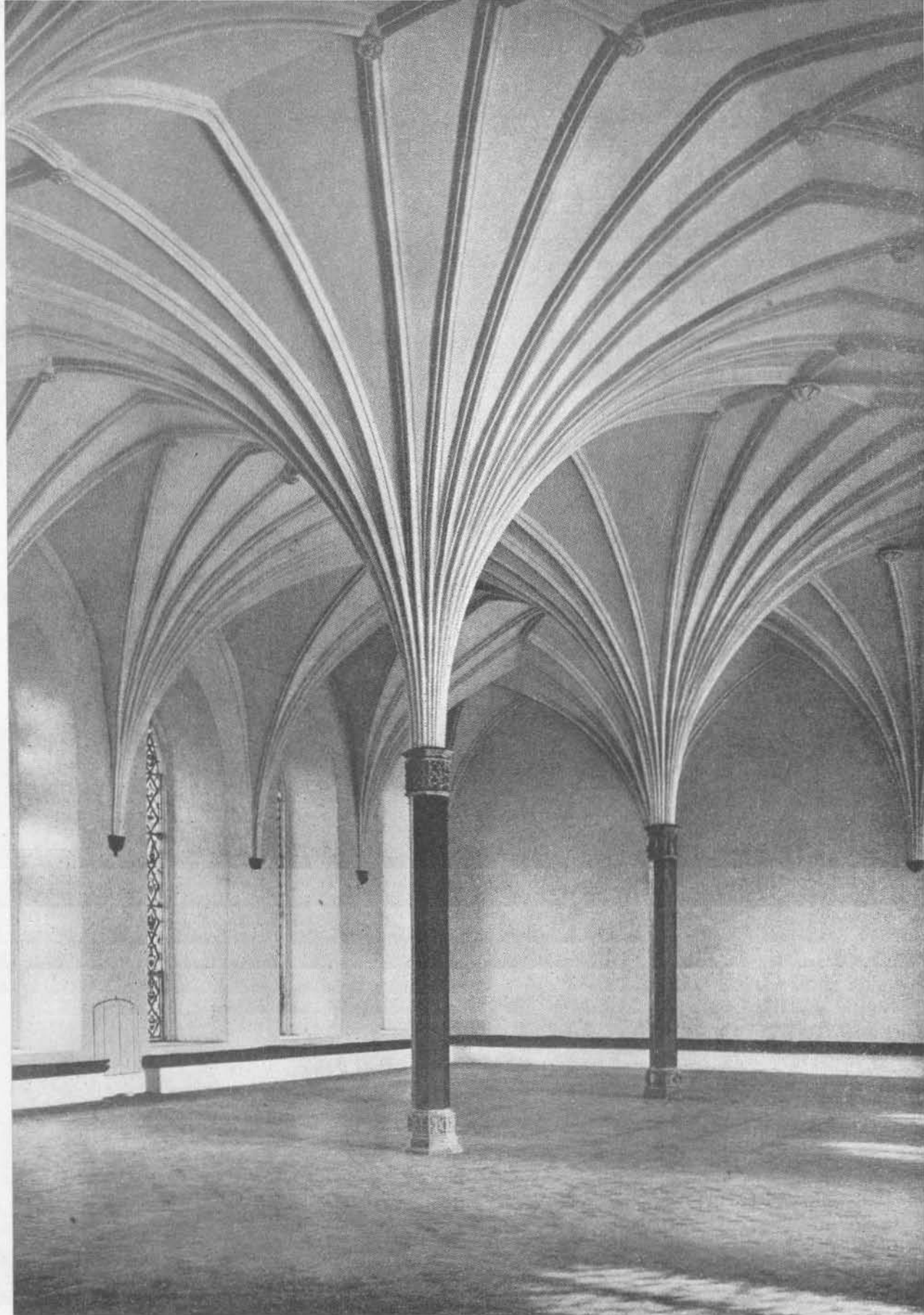


Ancient Russian church at Vladimir

The desire "to reach for the stars" is the same in the modern Swedish city hall, in the ancient Russian church, and in the medieval Gothic cathedral



The Cathedral of Ulm (Germany, 14th and 15th centuries)



Banquet hall in the Marienburg, a classic example of European interior architecture
(Germany, 13th century)

something should long ago have been done? In Europe we find restless activity, creating, and forming; in the Orient, action through inaction, passivity, contemplation.

Just as this striving for tranquillity is usually misunderstood by the European, so European energy is usually seen by the East only in the light of its soul-destroying exaggerations. The spirit of the true European does not seek activity for activity's sake; rather does this activity spring from obligation towards his work and joy in the mastering of life. And wherever he does work corresponding to his nature, he has the feeling of obeying an inner voice and is conscious of a duty to complete the work on hand according to its inherent laws.

With this we have assembled the most important characteristics which allow us to draw a comprehensive picture of the European conception of life. The European is full of vitality, he affirms existence, turns his face towards the world, and is active. And why? His affirmation of life and the world is by no means only materialistic. Rather does it derive from the belief that God is not to be perceived or apprehended only in formless origin but is manifested in the essence of things and in the significance of their proper order and strives to make Himself apparent in the reality of space and time.

AIDING NATURE

Thus the European sees the original forms beyond all the imperfection of their appearances, and he feels an urge, indeed, an obligation to help them in their striving for realization in this world. Wherever he perceives the possibility of order, he immediately feels the desire actually to bring about this order. All appearances in the world seem, as it were, to call out to him: "Help me to become that which I really am!"

It is the meaning of the seed to become a flower or a tree. That the flower or tree must die again, does not change the divine meaning of the seed in this world. All around us we see the eternal

struggle of such seeds of God, striving towards their realization, against forces hindering their realization. Like every other creature in Nature, Man and the nations are also involved in this struggle. They all want to and must become what, fundamentally, they are. But this "Become that which thou art" does not mean to the European that he should annihilate himself in the limitless origin of the world. The imperfection of this world does not cause him to turn his back upon the world and to express his maturity by submerging himself in the origin of all things. On the contrary, it gives him the urge to change the reality of this world, as well as he can, to make it conform to the inner nature of each thing, and in this way to perfect each thing, himself, and his people. This is the meaning of the restless European energy. If one considers the spiritual contest between the European peoples on this basis, it becomes clear that it is the materialistic betrayal of the true European spirit which has brought some Western states and Bolshevik Russia into conflict with the other peoples of Europe.

Now we have the real basis for a true understanding of the place of technical progress in the European conception of life. To the European a technical accomplishment is not just a means to useful ends. Its profound meaning is rather to make possible the mastering of those conditions of time and space under which life can develop in all its forms and in accordance with its true nature. The fact that, in the hands of unrestrained individuals, technical progress has in part had other effects, by no means corresponds to the European spirit. It was the result of one of its distortions.

EUROPE AND THE ORIENT

When Europe emphasizes certain essential traits of her conception of life, she at the same time emphasizes the difference between the European and the Oriental spirit. To many, this difference may seem an unbridgeable contrast, and they may doubt whether the much talked of New Order of the world and the necessary

co-operation for it between East and West can, in the face of such differences, ever rise above the stage of economic co-operation.

I believe that these differences do not exclude a spiritual contact; on the contrary, they make it immensely fertile. This all the more so if the existing differences are not obscured but clearly acknowledged and reciprocally respected. We must, however, get rid first of the remains of that narrow idea which sees in all national differences an obstacle to mutual understanding and considers their denial the prerequisite for lasting co-operation.

Above all, however, both East and West must free themselves from the spell of the distorted picture they have of each other. It is a barrier between them to this day. Then only will the European be reminded by the Oriental's way of life not to disregard the relationship between all life and the cosmos. Then only can the Oriental power of action through inaction, of inward maturing, safeguard the European from losing himself in purely outward activity.

Correspondingly, the Oriental may, properly understanding the European conception of life, see in it that it is Man's lot and task to act in this earthly existence. He will find that there is a form of mastering reality which, far from being materialistic, stands in the selfless service of life and God.

THE TASK OF THE FUTURE

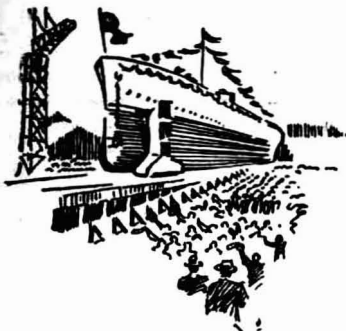
East and West will only grasp each other's most profound strength when they always bear in mind the whole picture; otherwise even the differences lose their meaning. Is not the East, for example, past master at appreciating even the smallest things of this world for the very

reason that the Oriental understands them in their symbolic meaning? Are not the traditional Japanese arts, such as the tea ceremony and flower arranging, dwarf-tree culture and garden designing, convincing proof of this? How mistaken is any conception of the Japanese nature which does not take into account the power of lightning action which the Japanese draws from his very attitude of contemplation which goes beyond life and death? And finally, do not tremendous impulses toward a positive shaping of the world and of life emanate from Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shintoism?

Likewise, in order for the Oriental to find productive understanding of Europe it is necessary, not only that he abandon his distorting idea of European materialism, but also that he understand the spirituality peculiar to the European. He must not forget that the creative work in the true European spirit—expressed in the immortal works of European art, as well as in science, engineering, and government—is the dynamic manifestation of a profound perception of the innermost essence of things.

With regard to the nations leading the New Order as the most powerful partners in the East and the West, there is, in addition to all this, the remarkable fact that, of all the nations of the West, Germany possesses more of those very traits which the Oriental least expects to find in the West, just as Japan, of all the nations of the East, possesses more of those very traits which the European least expects to find in the Orient. Yet one thing remains clear. The nations of the East as well as those of Europe will achieve a permanent order within themselves and in their *Grossraums* most rapidly if this order grows from their own conception of life, their own strength, and their own original style.





THE BATTLE OF TONS



In spite of Tobruk, Rostov, and the new Japanese advances in China the attention of the world during the past few months has again and again been focused on the Battle of Tons. This battle lacks the spectacular character of the great land campaigns. It is a silent struggle, often hidden beneath the surface of the ocean. The news items reporting its various phases are usually small—here one ship was sunk and there two or three were torpedoed—they hardly catch the eye of the reader. Yet we all know that, taken as a whole, it might decide the outcome of the war. It is more than just another excuse of the Allies if they declare that Tobruk and the battle of Kharkov were won by Axis submarines, and we can readily believe that the tonnage question was Problem Number One during the recent discussions between Roosevelt and Churchill.

The Battle of Tons is almost entirely one-sided. To be sure, the Allies occasionally succeed in sinking Axis ships, but their number is small, and their loss exerts no influence on the course of the war. Germany in particular, on the basis of her experiences during the first World War, for many years prior to the outbreak of the second World War, did everything to become blockade-proof, and Japan has solved her own problems by the victories of the past few months. The Axis nations have the advantage of fighting on the inner lines of Europe and East Asia, while Great Britain and the United States cannot send a single man or gun by land to any battlefront. Hence the battle of tons is primarily a fight which the Axis forces are waging against the merchantmen of the Allies. It is a race between the building and the sinking of Allied ships.

This race is described in the following article. It is, we believe, the most detailed study yet published on this subject in English in this part of the world. The basis for it is the great mass of data and opinions reported by the press, and official announcements wherever these have been available. The divergence of the information is amazing, and it is very difficult to find one's way through the jungle of contradictions. Hence the chief task, after collecting the material, was to sift it carefully and soberly and to assemble conservatively the most probable facts.—K.M.

BOTH the Axis and the Allies started the war with the lessons of the Great War in mind. Let us briefly recall what these lessons were.

GREAT WAR FIGURES

On January 31, 1917, Germany declared unrestricted submarine warfare in the zones shown on our map. Consequently, the figures for sinkings rose quickly and reached their high in the second quarter of 1917 with (according to British sources) 2,236,934 tons of Allied shipping space sunk. The British Admiralty was on the point of despair.

According to the book *The Crisis of the Naval War* by a British authority, Admiral Jellicoe, the German submarine fleet grew as follows:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Submarines available on August 1, 1914.. | 28 |
| Added in August/December 1914.... | 5 |
| Lost in August/December 1914..... | 5 |
| Total available on January 1, 1915..... | 28 |
| Added in 1915..... | 54 |
| Lost in 1915..... | 19 |
| Total available on January 1, 1916..... | 63 |
| Added in 1916..... | 87 |
| Lost in 1916..... | 25 |
| Total available on January 1, 1917..... | 125 |
| Added in 1917..... | 78 |
| Lost in 1917..... | 66 |
| Total available on January 1, 1918..... | 137 |
| Added in 1918..... | 74 |
| Lost in 1918..... | 70 |
| Total number of submarines available in autumn 1918..... | 141 |

Hence, out of a total of 326 submarines built by Germany, 141 still survived by

the autumn of 1918. At the time of Germany's collapse, her total building capacity was estimated at 200 submarines per year.

At the outbreak of the war in 1914, Great Britain and her immediate or later Allies had ships of over 1,000 tons with a total tonnage of 31,200,000 tons. To these were added constructions during the war with a total of about 7.2 million tons. For the years of unrestricted submarine warfare, 1917 and 1918, we give detailed figures from British sources :

ALLIED SHIP CONSTRUCTION IN 1917 AND 1918

| | United Kingdom | Dominions and Allied Countries | Total |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| 1917 | | | |
| 1st quarter | 246,239 | 340,807 | 587,046 |
| 2nd quarter | 249,331 | 435,717 | 685,048 |
| 3rd quarter | 248,283 | 426,778 | 675,061 |
| 4th quarter | 419,621 | 571,010 | 990,631 |
| Total 1917 | 1,163,474 | 1,774,312 | 2,937,786 |
| 1918 | | | |
| 1st quarter | 320,280 | 550,037 | 870,317 |
| 2nd quarter | 442,966 | 800,308 | 1,243,274 |
| 3rd quarter | 411,395 | 972,735 | 1,384,130 |
| 4th quarter | 136,100 | 375,000 | 511,100 |
| Total 1918 | 1,310,741 | 2,698,080 | 4,008,821 |

In view of the importance of the USA today as the production center of the Allies, we take the following figures from an article by the outstanding American naval and military expert, Hanson W. Baldwin, reprinted in the *Shanghai Times* of June 16, 1941 :

USA SHIP CONSTRUCTION 1916-1919

| | |
|------|--|
| 1916 | 211 ships of 504,247 tons (about 2,400 tons per ship) |
| 1917 | 326 ships of 997,919 tons (about 3,000 tons per ship) |
| 1918 | 929 ships of 3,030,030 tons (about 3,000 tons per ship) |
| 1919 | 1,051 ships of 4,075,385 tons (about 4,000 tons per ship) |

In 1917 the USA had 61 shipyards and 215 shipways, and at the end of the war 341 shipyards and 1,284 shipways.

From Viscount Jellicoe's book we take the following figures :

ALLIED LOSSES DURING 1917 AND 1918 IN TONS

| 1917 | British | Allied | Total |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1st quarter | 911,840 | 707,533 | 1,619,373 |
| 2nd quarter | 1,361,870 | 875,064 | 2,236,934 |
| 3rd quarter | 952,938 | 541,535 | 1,494,473 |
| 4th quarter | 782,887 | 489,954 | 1,272,841 |
| Total | 4,009,535 | 2,614,086 | 6,623,621 |
| 1918 | | | |
| 1st quarter | 697,668 | 445,668 | 1,143,336 |
| 2nd quarter | 630,862 | 331,145 | 962,007 |
| 3rd quarter | 512,030 | 403,483 | 915,513 |
| 4th quarter | 83,952 | 93,582 | 177,534 |
| Total | 1,924,512 | 1,273,878 | 3,198,390 |

For comparison we insert here :

ALLIED LOSSES, INFLICTED BY GERMANY ONLY, DURING 1941 AND 1942

as announced by the German High Command (in Tons)

| | 1941 | 1942 |
|-------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1st quarter | 2,038,000 | 1,572,900 |
| 2nd quarter | 2,825,950 | 2,395,200 |
| 3rd quarter | 2,060,434 | |
| 4th quarter | 930,170 | |
| | 7,854,554 | 3,968,100 |

According to the German Admiralty, the Allies lost during the four years of the Great War a total of 18,525,054 tons, while after the war the British admitted the loss of 13,233,672 tons for themselves, not counting the other Allies.

We obtain the following balance for the Allied merchant fleets during the Great War :

| | In Tons |
|--|-------------------|
| Allied tonnage—August 1, 1914..... | 31,200,000 |
| Construction by Allies up to October 30, 1918..... | 7,200,000 |
| | 38,400,000 |
| Total losses according to German figures | 18,525,054 |
| Allied tonnage—November 1, 1918..... | 19,874,946 |

A comparison of losses and construction clearly shows that during the Great War the Allies did not win the fight against the submarines by replacement of lost tonnage. Only in the second quarter of

1918 did the Allies' output of ships overtake their losses.

DEFENSE MEASURES

Britain, with the help of the American Navy, won the battle of tons mainly by developing anti-submarine weapons and employing the convoy system, as well as through the spirit and courage of her mercantile sailors. The principal anti-submarine devices introduced during the Great War were: howitzers as bomb-throwers, their bombs exploding under water; smoke screens; depth charges; hydrophones; defensive arming of merchant ships; aircraft; special decoy ships; patrol boats; net protection for merchant ships; nets in the Channel and at other places; coastal motorboats; mining operations; flares; electrical submarine detectors; and, finally, submarines against submarines.

Of 186 submarines sunk during the four years 1914/1918, it is believed that 35 fell victim to depth charges and at least as many to mine barrages. British submarines accounted for some 19. Destroyers and patrol craft of all kinds sank at least 20 by means of gunfire or ramming and about 12 by decoy ships.

Not the last place in the Allies' arsenal against the submarines was taken by their skillful propaganda, which caused a growing reluctance on the part of the German Government to employ to the full the terrible weapon of a truly unrestricted submarine warfare. Under the influence of this propaganda it was at first delayed; when finally decided on, it was soon paralyzed by restricting orders, as the responsible men in Germany did not want it to be said that Germany was not conducting the war in accordance with what British propaganda declared to be the rules of warfare.

APPLYING THE LESSONS

From the experiences of the Great War, both sides drew their conclusions. The German leaders today have certainly not paid any attention to British propaganda. Germany, in answer to the British blockade, adopted the equivalent

of unrestricted submarine warfare early in the war and gave it full rein by gradually enlarging the areas in which it could be carried on (see our map). She greatly improved the quality of her submarines, for example in the field of the radio, and gave them a new and very powerful ally, the airplane. As regards mines, also, many new inventions were made. It is true, at the outbreak of the war Germany had only very few submarines, probably less than she had had on August 1, 1914. The Treaty of Versailles had prohibited the building of submarines, and, even after its denunciation, the Anglo-German Treaty of June 18, 1935, limited it greatly. Because of the small number of German submarines, sub-warfare was slow in starting. This gave the Allies time to improve their defense system.

The device in which Britain obviously placed her greatest hope was the convoy system. Captain Oliver, a noted commentator on naval affairs, wrote in the *Christian Science Monitor* of November 15, 1941, that "the only effective method to deal with the U-boat danger is to employ the convoy system on a large scale. Every convoy should be heavily protected by warships covering its flanks and also sailing far ahead of the merchantmen." He believed that the subs would thereby be compelled to stay under water and thus be unable to cover great distances or strike at any ships. The plane would also play a very important part in the detection of submarines; hence many small cargo-boats were being converted into diminutive aircraft carriers. Captain Oliver expected that the US Navy would require one year to rid the Atlantic of the U-boat plague.

ALLIED ADVANTAGES

Hanson W. Baldwin of the *New York Times*, one of the leading American commentators on naval and military affairs, mentioned, in November 1941, the following factors as being favorable for the Allies:

1. Better protected convoys with a great number of destroyers, escort vessels, corvettes, and other types.

2. Patrol planes, the consolidated Catalinas, with a 4,000-mile-range, operating from Northern Ireland and Newfoundland.

3. Better patrols. The American informational patrol has relieved British vessels of considerable strain and has provided important information. [This, incidentally, while the USA was still "neutral"!]

4. Bombing of German submarine bases and shipbuilding yards by the RAF.

5. Shortage of submarine crews and particularly of skillful, daring, experienced submarine commanders.

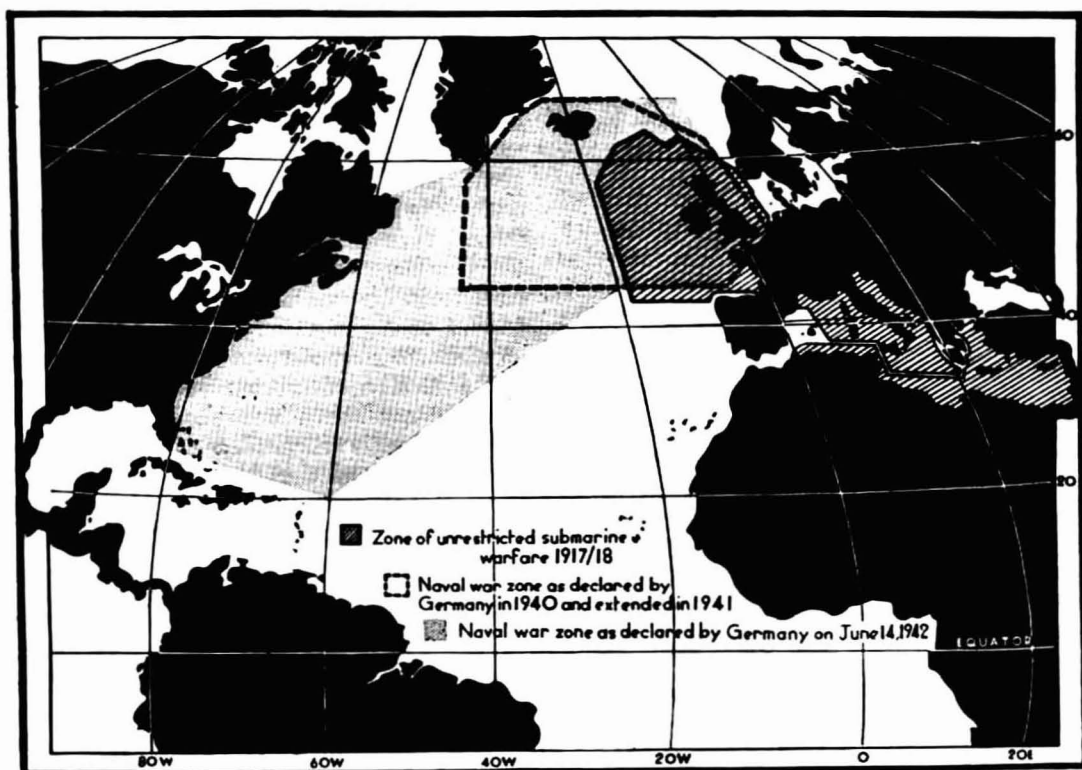
6. German preoccupation in Eastern Europe—German planes and subs, formerly used in the attack upon British shipping in the Atlantic and in the Mediterranean, have been transferred to the Eastern Front.

On the debit side of the British, Mr. Baldwin saw the fact that not enough shipping was available to meet the needs of all the theaters of war, of Britain, the USSR, the Middle East, and China.

These comments on the situation were made at a time when Hitler had deliberately restricted the submarine activi-

ties in order not to play into the hands of President Roosevelt, and before Japan had entered the war (see chart I).

Now, by the middle of 1942, the optimism of these writers has not been substantiated. The U-boat building of the Axis nations, particularly of Germany, has reached the mass-production scale, and all efforts at active defense, which have had another six months of time for improvements, have not stopped the skillful, daring and experienced submarine commanders and crews from appearing in the St. Lawrence River, in Caribbean ports, in the estuary of the Mississippi, along the coasts of Oregon, California, and South Africa, and from sinking ships by the million tons. America's entry into the war has brought no change in favor of the Allies; on the contrary, it has facilitated the difficult task of the U-boats by opening new hunting grounds for them, and it has added Japan's mighty navy to the active enemies of the Allies. The



According to warnings of the German Government all ships sailing in the restricted areas of 1940/41 and 1942 are liable to be destroyed

drain on shipping has become greater than ever before.

LOST TIME

The general impression one gains by surveying the course of the Battle of Tons is that the Allies have based their preparation, their arms, their strategy, and tactics, on sea as well as on land, too much on what was done during the first World War; whereas the Axis powers, hand in hand with their spiritual revolution, have revolutionized their industry, their arms, and their warfare on land, on sea, and in the air. This they have done so thoroughly and so completely that the 1914/18 methods of ship protection have become ineffective. Led by men with great vision, supported by the best of the nation, the German revolution has proved itself a creative power in all fields of human activities. It is this creative and dynamic power which the Allied nations will have to outdo if they want to overcome the battle against the merchantmen. The Allies realize this. They are trying to catch up, to make good the loss of squandered time. But the Axis powers, too, are continuing to increase and improve their armament, planes, and U-boats so rapidly that the time factor will not help the Allies as it helped them during the World War and Britain in all her previous wars. With all due respect towards the American talent for organization and her potential resources, we must say that for America, too, it will be very difficult to make up for underestimation and lost time.

A CHANGED POSITION

The greatest and probably the most serious difference between today and 1917 is the change in the strategical position. Since 1940 the European Axis partners have had sub and air bases from the northernmost tip of Norway to the frontier of Spain and along wide stretches of the Mediterranean coast. Their sub bases have practically been converted into "bunkers" of their own. In the western Pacific and in the Indian Ocean, Japan has undisputed mastery and pos-

sesses bases from the Aleutians in the north to Timor in the south. How many submarines the Axis has we do not know, but, speaking of Germany alone, Hitler said in his speech of April 28, 1942, that she already had many more submarines than ever during the first World War and that many more were under construction.

These changed conditions have fatally upset all previous defense preparations of the Allies. Many of the devices which were very effective in the first World War, and which probably would still be effective in similar circumstances today, have no value because circumstances have changed.

Remembering the great efforts which were necessary for the Allies to master the submarine danger during the Great War, when France, Italy, and Japan were on their side and when war was confined to much smaller areas, one realizes the Herculean task now facing Great Britain and America.

Captain Oliver, in the article mentioned above, says with regard to this point: "Many improvements have been introduced by Germany in the construction of the new U-boats, which are definitely superior to those the Reich used in its submarine warfare in 1917. It is to be noted also that the number of the German subs in the Atlantic is considerably greater now than it had ever been during World War I." As a matter of fact, U-boats return to their bases at present with damages which their predecessors of 1917 would not have been able to withstand.

Another very important factor in this war is that the battle against the merchantmen has become three-dimensional: on, over, and under the waves, and not only the Atlantic waves, but on, under, and over the waves of all the seven seas.

HOW MANY MERCHANT SHIPS?

After this comparison of the situation in 1917/18 with today, we shall try to

sift and analyze the available figures of the present war. Our first task must be to determine the size of the merchant fleet in the hands of the Allies at the beginning of the war. To simplify our complicated arithmetic we will assume that the USA put her merchant fleet at the disposal of the Allies from the outset. The American Government itself does not deny that United States ships aided Great Britain long before December 8, 1941.

The accompanying table of world tonnage is taken from Lloyds' Register for 1939/40, the basis for our calculations.

Usually only ships of over 2,000 tons are counted by naval experts, and the average tonnage of vessels sunk, as announced by the German High Command, was usually about 5,000 tons and over. But we wish to calculate as cautiously as possible. Believing that vessels from 1,000 tons up may render useful service in war time; furthermore, to compensate for tonnage of overage ships put into service again for the duration of the war; and finally, in order to make up for quantities unknown to us, we shall include in our computations vessels from 1,000 tons up.

Merely to add the merchant fleets of the Allies, of course, would not lead us very far. Matters are not as simple as that; for how about the fleets of the neutrals, or of nations now under Axis control?

In all our estimates we do not consider the tonnage of the USSR. The sinkings of Soviet ships have never been included in the figures of the official German announcements. Furthermore, Soviet ships are largely bottled up in the Baltic and Black Sea, and practically all the armaments from the USA to the USSR are shipped in non-Soviet bottoms.

ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL QUANTITY OF SHIPS AND TONNAGE (INCLUDING TANKERS BUT EXCLUDING THE USSR) AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE ALLIES AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

| | Ships | Tons |
|---|---------------|-------------------|
| United Kingdom and Empire . | 8,819 | 20,967,000 |
| Belgium | 199 | 407,000 |
| Brazil | 285 | 483,000 |
| Greece | 563 | 1,773,000 |
| Holland | 1,388 | 2,952,000 |
| Norway | 1,926 | 4,823,000 |
| USA (oceangoing ships only) .. | 2,326 | 8,898,000 |
| Philippines | 98 | 127,000 |
| | 15,604 | 40,430,000 |
| Minus fishing craft | -2,517 | 596,000 |
| Minus ships of 1,000 tons and under, approx. | -7,866 | 3,950,000 |
| Minus ships of countries allied with Britain and America needed for specific home service and others not available for war service, approx. 10% | - 356 | 1,000,000 |
| Plus German, Italian, and French tonnage captured and seized in ports, approx. | + 300 | 1,500,000 |
| Plus tonnage from countries listed as "remaining countries" and possibly in Allied service, approx. | + 450 | 2,000,000 |
| Maximum possible total in Allied service at the outbreak of the war (ships over 1,000 tons only) | 5,615 | 38,384,000 |

Out of the total of 11,439,000 of world tanker tonnage we estimate that approximately 9,200,000 tons were in Allied service. The tonnage of steam- and motorships of all categories over 1,000 tons, without fishing craft, tankers, and Soviet tonnage, must, therefore, have been at most about 29,000,000 tons in September 1939.

How conservative we have been in our calculations becomes evident if one compares our figures with those of *Fortune*, a leading American magazine, which in May 1942 made the following estimate, counting only ships of more than 2,000 tons.

ALLIED TONNAGE AUTUMN 1939

| | Tons |
|---|-------------------|
| Ships of the British Empire, autumn 1939 | 16,300,000 |
| Ships of Allied and neutrals (except USA) | 10,000,000 |
| USA | 6,700,000 |
| Total | 33,000,000 |

(Vessels of 100 tons and over)

**Compiled from Lloyds' Register 1939/40
(excluding sailing vessels but including fishing craft)**

| NATIONALITIES | TOTAL | | GR. REG. TONS | | | | | | | HEREOF TANKERS | |
|---|--------|------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|------------|
| | Ships | Tonnage | 100 to 500 | 500 to 1,000 | 1,000 to 2,000 | 2,000 to 5,000 | 5,000 to 10,000 | 10,000 to 25,000 | over 25,000 | Ships | Tonnage |
| Belgium | 199 | 407,000 | 98 | 21 | 16 | 27 | 33 | 4 | — | 9 | 66,000 |
| Brazil | 285 | 483,000 | 120 | 41 | 34 | 69 | 21 | — | — | — | — |
| Denmark | 601 | 1,166,000 | 141 | 69 | 216 | 120 | 50 | 5 | — | 14 | 106,000 |
| Germany..... | 2,095 | 4,421,000 | 954 | 273 | 245 | 313 | 266 | 38 | 6 | 37 | 256,000 |
| France..... | 1,201 | 2,925,000 | 533 | 78 | 129 | 270 | 153 | 34 | 4 | 50 | 318,000 |
| Greece | 563 | 1,773,000 | 85 | 32 | 78 | 266 | 101 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Great Britain & Ireland | 6,661 | 17,879,000 | 2,952 | 690 | 574 | 932 | 1,304 | 226 | 13 | 435 | 2,920,000 |
| Canada | 756 | 1,216,000 | 423 | 57 | 219 | 99 | 50 | 8 | — | 31 | 130,000 |
| Australia & New Zealand | 524 | 664,000 | 250 | 100 | 61 | 96 | 12 | 5 | — | — | — |
| Other Dominions | 878 | 1,208,000 | 454 | 139 | 97 | 123 | 58 | 7 | — | 32 | 215,000 |
| Holland..... | 1,388 | 2,952,000 | 770 | 64 | 122 | 197 | 200 | 33 | — | 107 | 538,000 |
| Italy | 1,036 | 3,378,000 | 240 | 103 | 147 | 254 | 262 | 26 | 4 | 84 | 426,000 |
| Japan | 2,264 | 5,610,000 | 814 | 232 | 254 | 522 | 404 | 38 | — | 47 | 430,000 |
| Norway | 1,926 | 4,823,000 | 686 | 168 | 367 | 329 | 354 | 22 | — | 272 | 2,117,000 |
| Soviet Union | 689 | 1,303,000 | 157 | 167 | 87 | 238 | 38 | 2 | — | 28 | 133,000 |
| Sweden | 1,006 | 1,589,000 | 375 | 130 | 305 | 119 | 69 | 7 | 1 | 19 | 159,000 |
| Spain..... | 699 | 890,000 | 418 | 48 | 51 | 145 | 34 | 3 | — | 15 | 71,000 |
| USA : | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Oceangoing ships | 2,326 | 8,898,000 | 646 | 91 | 162 | 461 | 903 | 62 | 1 | 421 | 2,801,000 |
| Inland navigation..... | 508 | 2,452,000 | 13 | 13 | 30 | 231 | 220 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Philippines | 98 | 127,000 | 39 | 21 | 21 | 9 | 7 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Remaining Countries | 2,378 | 4,068,000 | 871 | 320 | 479 | 547 | 137 | 24 | — | 130 | 753,000 |
| Total | 28,079 | 68,176,000 | 11,039 | 2,857 | 3,694 | 5,367 | 4,686 | 547 | 31 | 1,731 | 11,439,000 |
| Less fishing craft | 4,206 | 1,071,000 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 23,873 | 67,105,000 | | | | | | | | | |
| Less USA Inland navigation | 508 | 2,452,000 | | | | | | | | | |
| Net Total | 23,365 | 64,653,000 | | | | | | | | | |
| Less ships of & under 1,000 tons | 13,896 | 6,948,000 | | | | | | | | | |
| World Tonnage, vessels over 1,000 tons.... | 9,469 | 57,705,000 | | | | | | | | | |
| Less tankers | 1,731 | 11,439,000 | | | | | | | | | |
| Net cargo and passenger vessels | 7,738 | 46,266,000 | | | | | | | | | |

Number Tonnage

Ships over 50,000 tons 5 352,451

" " 40,000 " 5 188,832

" " 30,000 " 7 234,917

" " 25,000 " 14 399,851

" " 20,000 " 53 1,052,896

NEW CONSTRUCTION

In the field of construction most contradictory, inconsistent, and misleading statements have been and are still being made by competent persons as well as others. Much of this is due to intentional secrecy and confusion, but much also to the frequent changes in plans.

Before 1941 the US Maritime Commission had established a 50-ships-a-year construction plan; but on January 3, 1941 President Roosevelt demanded 200 standardized "ugly duckling" cargo vessels (or EC2's). In April 1941 another presidential order added 112 EC2's and 100 standard Maritime Commission ships to the January order. The British who had ordered 60 EC2's in December 1940 brought the grand total of emergency orders up to 472. Besides this there was, of course, a scattering of private contracts.

Since then, little has been heard about the fulfillment of these grandiose plans. But from time to time news has leaked out which shows that it is considerably behind schedule:

On April 24, President Roosevelt declared at his press conference that the shipping-construction program could not be completely fulfilled owing to the shortage of steel plates and the insufficient number of factories to produce them (Havas, Berlin, 25.4.42).

Out of ten shipyards, six are behind schedule. The delays are caused by the shortage of steel, workmen and skilled foremen, and deficiency in the Administration, many blaming Admiral Land, the chairman of the US Maritime Commission, for the delay in the program (Time, 18.5.42).

In April 1942, 36 new ships were delivered by the American shipyards. This is less than half of the one-million-tons-per-month program planned for 1942 (Time, 18.5.42).

To speed construction of ships, American engineers designed the "Sea-Otter" type, which was to be produced in mass production; but the ship has proved unsatisfactory for high-sea purposes, and the designers are now working on a revision.

In order to save steel, the building of wooden ships has been taken into consideration for service along the American coasts and in the Caribbean Sea (News Week, 6.4.42).

In March 1942 the USA had 200 shipways, with 41 shipways in preparation. In 1943 the total number of shipways is expected to reach 300. The shipyard workers in February 1942 were numbered at about 500,000 a figure which is to be increased to 700,000. Among the difficulties responsible for delay is the lack of engineers and trained workmen (sometimes there is only one trained workman to fifteen untrained), shortage

of materials, of cranes, and indifference—sometimes even passive resistance—on the part of the workers; on the other hand, engines and boilers in 1942 were delivered faster than in 1941 (Fortune, May 1942).

In April 1942 four Allied vessels were sunk to every newly constructed ship (Fortune, July 1942).

We have no continuous monthly statements on ships damaged by enemy action. (The official German figures are 39 in November 1941, 44 in February, and 58 in June 1942). It can, however, not be doubted, that an enormous tonnage is lying in ports waiting for repairs, and that these repairs are occupying many shipyards which otherwise would be building new ships, and that this repair work greatly hampers the building program.

From these quotations and from many other sources not quoted here, it seems to us that the following figures represent the maximum achieved from the outbreak of the war up to the middle of 1942.

ALLIED SHIPBUILDING

From September 3, 1939 to June 30, 1942

| | | Tons |
|-------------|---|-----------|
| 1939 | Great Britain and USA (September/December) | 400,000 |
| 1940 | Great Britain | 1,000,000 |
| | USA | 550,000 |
| 1941 | Great Britain | 750,000 |
| | USA | 1,000,000 |
| 1942 | first half-year | |
| | Great Britain (maximum) | 750,000 |
| | USA (maximum) | 2,100,000 |
| 1939/42 | built by other nations and available to Allies | 500,000 |
| Total | | 7,050,000 |

We believe we are rather on the high side with these figures. It does not seem likely that in 1942 the USA will reach the six million tons hoped for.

ALLIED LOSSES

Our next task is to estimate the losses suffered by the Allied merchant fleets.

In spite of a very active part taken by the Luftwaffe in the sinking of merchantmen, the great majority of ships are sunk by submarines. According to German figures the share of the Luftwaffe up to August 1941 was 26 per cent. Since then, owing to the inclusion of the western Atlantic in the zone of operations, it

LOSSES OF THE ALLIED MERCHANT FLEETS (INCLUDING TANKERS)

from September 3, 1939 to June 30, 1942

| | Tons |
|--|-------------------|
| By enemy action as announced by the German High Command | 19,148,300 |
| By enemy action as announced by the Italian High Command | 1,400,000 |
| By enemy Japanese action, approx. | 1,400,000 |
| Minimum average tonnage undergoing repair on account of damages received in the war or waiting to undergo such repair | 2,000,000 |
| Approximate losses through mines | 2,000,000 |
| Tonnage seized by Germany up to June 1941, as officially announced in Berlin | 2,000,000 |
| Damages by the ordinary hazards of navigation, depreciation, and ships under ordinary repairs, about 4% of 44,500,000 tons | 1,780,000 |
| Total losses up to July 1, 1942.. | 29,728,300 |

receded to 15 per cent by June 1942. The average sinkings due to German action alone in the first six months of 1942 amounted, according to German sources, to 654 ships in all. (Even according to the *London Daily Telegraph* of July 12, 349 Allied ships have been sunk since December 8 along the US East Coast alone.) This amounts to 3.58 ships a day, namely: January 63, February 79, March 105, April 81, May 170, and June 156. In May

the daily sinkings amounted to 5.8 ships and in June to somewhat over 5 ships a day, while Admiral Land had promised for the same period the delivery of 1.57 ships per day.

We fully realize that our readers would like to see the figures for losses given not only by the Axis but also by the Allies. But nothing comparable to the announcements of the German, Italian, and Japanese High Commands exists on the other side, as the Allies are doing their utmost to keep their losses secret. This is a policy which has frequently been attacked by their own press and in the House of Commons. On July 16, 1941, the British Admiralty declared that no further announcements on loss of tonnage would

be made. At that time it was stated that until that date the losses of the British alone amounted to 1,733 ships, aggregating 7,118,122 tons'. On August 1, 1941, a Swedish newspaper stated the neutral shipping losses to be 641 ships and 2,978,583 tons. Hence by August 1941 the total losses of ships available to the Allies would have amounted, according to these reports, to 10,096,705 tons, whereas the German Admiralty up to the same

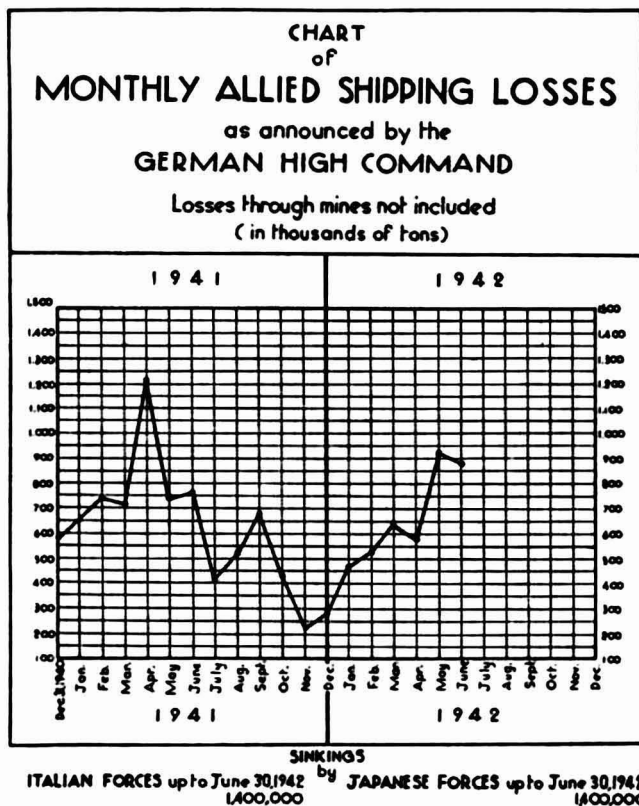


Chart I. The exceptional peak in April 1941 was caused by the Greek campaign and the battle of Crete. In October 1941, President Roosevelt decided to send the US Navy on patrol duty and, for reasons of its own, the German Government did not wish to play into the hands of those in America who were looking for a good excuse for active intervention. Hence the sharp decline of the curve up to the end of December 1941. Since January 1942 the curve has risen steadily. Every loss above the 500,000-ton mark gravely enhances the existing crisis

date claimed the destruction of 13,366,717 tons.

As Churchill himself had said in the House of Commons in the beginning of the war that the Government would only announce such losses as the enemy had been able to ascertain, the London figures need not be taken as correct. At any rate, only a few days ago US Rear Admiral Vickery declared that submarines were still sinking more ships than the USA and Britain could build and added that even the present rate of building could not be maintained if the USA wanted to have in future a sufficient quantity of steel and other metals at her disposal.

Nowhere are losses due to mines included in our statements or tables.

REQUIREMENTS OF THE ALLIES

To calculate the tonnage requirements of the Allies for the present time is a very difficult task which again we shall try to solve in a cautious, conservative way.

We can assume that the requirements for nonmilitary use in war time are cut down to the bone. Most of the estimates we have seen seem to agree that in war time about 50 per cent. of the pre-war tonnage would be sufficient to take care of the most urgent ordinary needs. Yet it is possible that in the unprecedented emergency in which the Allies find them-

selves at present this figure will be further reduced—we will assume to one third of the pre-war tonnage, tankers not included.

On the other hand, however, huge new demands have grown out of the war. If the famous question "guns or butter?" has by now generally been answered by "guns," the tonnage saved by cutting down the use of "butter" is largely offset by the tonnage needed for "guns."

The required tonnage is further in-

creased owing to the fact that the employment of convoys has considerably slowed down the movement of ships. A ship which before the war could make, for example, ten trips between two given points during a certain period of time, can now travel the same distance in the same period between six and eight times only, because it must wait for convoys to assemble and, while being convoyed, cannot move faster than the slowest ship in its company.

Finally the demand for bot-

tomms has tremendously increased because of the lengthened lines of communication. Here again the difference between the Great War and the present conflict is making itself felt unfavorably for the Allies. Everywhere the supply routes have been lengthened by many times their previous length. The loss of control over the Mediterranean forces British ships on the way to the Middle East to make a 14,000-mile trip around Africa, and the entry of

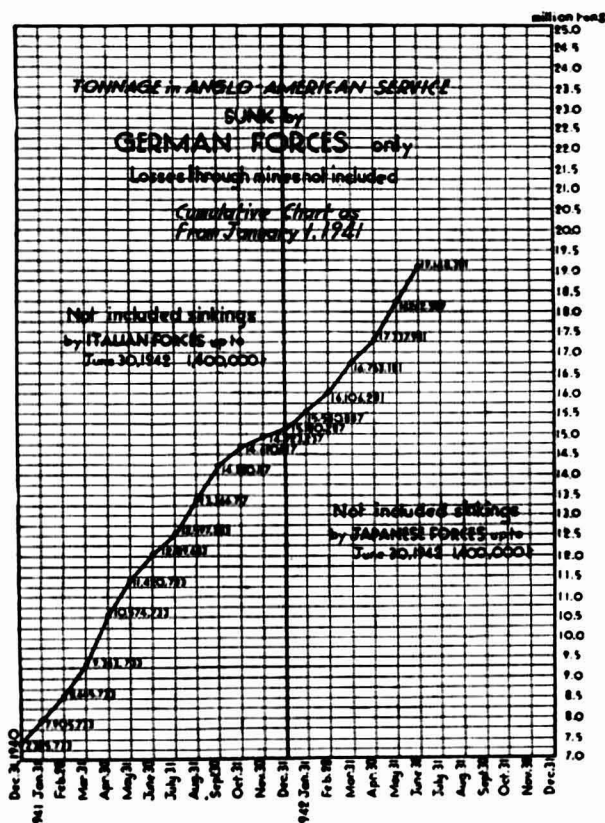


Chart II. The German High Command did not begin to publish regular monthly announcements of sinkings until January 1941. Tanker tonnage is included

Japan has not only deprived the Allies of many important bases but has also created new and distant battlefronts to be supplied, such as Alaska and Australia. At the same time the intensification of the war has increased the demands of the fighting forces for material supply to an undreamed-of high.

In 1917, at the time of Germany's first unrestricted submarine warfare, Great Britain received 75 per cent of her iron-ore shipments from nearby Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, Spain, and Portugal, that is, from an average distance of 700 miles. At present England is cut off completely from the European continent and must draw supplies from a minimum of 2,500 miles away, that is, from the northeast coast of the USA. Thus we come to the following figures:

ALLIED SHIP REQUIREMENTS

| | Tons |
|--|------------|
| "Cut to bone" nonmilitary requirements (6 million British Isles, 4 million Dominions and Allies)..... | 10,000,000 |
| Tonnage impounded by the British and American Admiralties..... | 3,000,000 |
| Minimum war-time requirements in excess of ordinary requirements and excluding the supply of troops overseas | 3,000,000 |
| Tonnage for the constant supply of troops stationed overseas (Middle East, India, Madagascar, Ireland, North Africa, Australia, Alaska, Iceland, Greenland, Iran, islands of the Caribbean) excluding requirements of a second front. Counting a million men overseas and the lowest estimate of four tons per man annually, we arrived at | 4,000,000 |
| Requirements for supplying the USSR with lend-lease material, practically unlimited (one single convoy which lost 35 of its ships in the Arctic early in July 1942 had consisted of about 350,000 tons), minimum | 500,000 |
| To this figure we must add a minimum of 20% due to the loss of speed by sailing under convoy (<i>Fortune</i> , July 1941: 25%) | 4,100,000 |
| And to this figure must be added conservatively at least 20% of 20,500,000 due to the lengthened lines..... | 4,100,000 |
| Finally, the requirements of tanker space must be added. Counting replacements and losses, the Allies at present possess not more than 7,000,000 tons, which, their many restrictions show, are not enough. (See "The Battle of the Caribbean," May 1942.) Minimum needed | 8,000,000 |
| Total | 36,700,000 |

DEEP IN THE RED

We have now obtained the following balance sheet:

THE BALANCE

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Allied tonnage—September 3, 1939 .. | 38,384,000 |
| Plus constructions—September 3, 1939 to June 30, 1942 | + 7,050,000 |
| | 45,434,000 |
| Minus losses—September 3, 1939 to June 30, 1942 | -29,728,300 |
| Tonnage available June 30, 1942.... | 15,705,700 |
| Minus requirements | -36,700,000 |
| Balance | -20,994,300 |

We realize that this sensational figure will at first sight appear fantastic to many readers. But we feel sure that in checking our figures they will come to the same or a very similar result. Yet they will say: "But the Allies are still fighting." That is true. But *how* are they fighting? This terrible minus of about 20,000,000 tons which the Allies lack for the ordinary tasks of this war (not to mention a second front with an additional 10-25-million-ton requirement!) is one of the chief explanations for their poor record and their long series of defeats in the war so far. *To turn the tide in their favor they would have not only to make up for the current losses but to surpass them by many millions of tons.* As it is now, they are trying desperately, with a total tonnage of not more than about 15 million, to fulfill the tasks for which they would need at least twice that much. The only consolation they can have is the hope for the construction of increased tonnage in the future. Great figures are being named in this respect. The American Maritime Commission expects the building of a total of 12,000,000 tons for 1942 and 1943. Admiral Land promises the following deliveries:

BUILDING PROGRAM

| | Year | Ships | Tons | Tons per Ship | Ships per day |
|-------------|------|-------|-----------|---------------|---------------|
| 3rd quarter | 1942 | 154 | 1,646,000 | 10,600 | 1.7 |
| 4th quarter | 1942 | 184 | 2,000,000 | 10,900 | 2 |
| 1st quarter | 1943 | 220 | 2,270,000 | 10,300 | 2.4 |

Even assuming that this program could be carried out, which is most unlikely,

it would still be short of the losses, and the problem of how to man these ships and where to find thousands of captains, officers, and engineers for them would still have to be solved. The great loss in life in connection with the destruction of about 22,000,000 tons of shipping space so far and the horrible forms which wholesale death has taken on a flaming tanker or bursting ammunition ship have made the sailing profession extremely unpopular in America. Complete figures of loss of life are not available. However, even according to reports from Washington, in the five months from mid-January to mid-June 1942, 3,574 men had died in the western Atlantic (Domei, Buenos Aires, 24.6.42) and the US magazine *New Republic* figured out that the Battle of the Atlantic alone had cost the lives of 41,000 sailors. The German slogan "he who sails for the British sails to his death" has proved correct on countless occasions.

But in this factual article we do not intend to discuss matters of the future. We have confined ourselves to the most careful estimates for the development in the past.

After the Great War the public was told that the 1917 sinkings had brought Britain to the brink of a catastrophe. A comparison of the losses during 1917 with those of 1941 and of the first half

of 1942 substantiates our belief that the Allied nations are at present facing a similar crisis and under much less favorable general conditions.

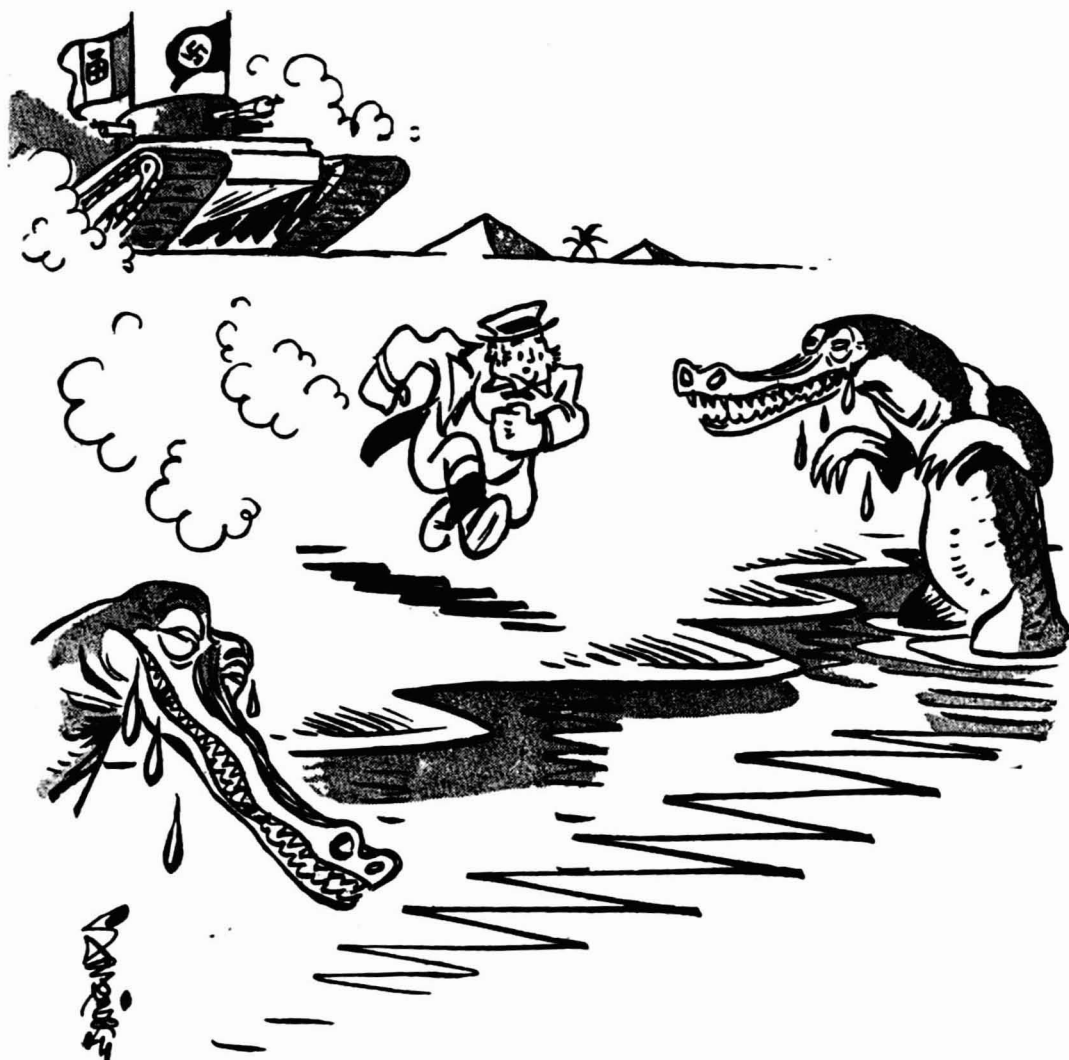
In 1918 the Allies had still roughly 20,000,000 tons in service, the sinkings were on the decrease since the second half of 1917, the replacements in the end exceeded the sinkings and Germany built only about as many U-boats as she lost.

In 1942, however, the Allies are probably left with not more than 15,000,000 tons, the sinkings exceed even the losses of 1917 and show no sign of decrease, the replacements in 1942 will very likely not even cover 50 per cent of the losses, and from all we know, the Axis powers are building more U-boats than the Anglo-American navies are able to destroy.

The Parliamentary Secretary of State of the British Admiralty, in a speech on May 5, 1942, found an excellent formula for the Allied situation when he said that "the root of all evil lies in the fact that the British Navy and the British merchant marine has too many tasks and too few vessels. In the last war there were five Allied navies with 1,000 destroyers. Today only the US Navy is at Britain's side. No success in any part of the world can be of any use to Britain if she loses the Battle of the Atlantic."



CARTOON OF THE MONTH
By SAPAJOU



How they weep!



ON MEDICINE AND WARFARE IN THE TROPICS

By DR. C. M. HASSELMANN

Never before in the history of warfare have battles been fought and troop movements taken place in such vast areas of the tropics and subtropics. In North Africa and in the Near East, in the Black Sea area, on Madagascar and in Iran, India, and Burma, in South China, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, in the Philippines, the islands of the South Seas, on the north coast of Australia, and in the Caribbean Sea, millions of soldiers are facing each other, marching, fighting, maneuvering for position, parched with thirst in the deserts, in clothes permanently soaked in the humid jungles, cramped in makeshift camps, surrounded by clouds of mosquitoes, and exposed to disease. War is a grim business anywhere, but warfare in the tropics, because of the abundance of tropical diseases, adds horrors of its own and requires additional measures and morale on the part of the fighting forces. The victories of the Japanese in southeast Asia and of the German/Italian forces in North Africa can only be fully appreciated if it is realized that, apart from fighting the enemy, they have to fight dreadful diseases.

Since large-scale warfare in the tropics is unprecedented, we have asked Dr. Hasselmann to write on its medical aspect. Our author was an officer in the first World War, received his doctor's degree at the University of Würzburg and his degree in tropical medicine from the famous Tropical Institute of Hamburg. For the past fifteen years he has been a practicing physician and surgeon in the tropics. He did post-graduate work at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester and research work in various tropical countries, including the Philippines, China, British India, Iraq, Syria, and Palestine. He is a member of various German and other medical societies and has contributed articles on clinical subjects to medical journals in various countries. Owing to the present war he has left Manila and is now living in Shanghai.—K.M.

SINCE hostilities in the Pacific commenced, by far the largest war area has been made up of the tropics or of adjacent territories where allied climates and maladies exist.

The tropics proper comprise the belt between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn, but this geographical limitation falls far short of embracing other vast regions with similar climate and diseases. In our map we have included approximately the regions with pathology representative of the tropics.

The primary duty of an army medical service is to determine the physical and mental fitness of draftees and volunteers; to make all preparations humanly possible

to keep the personnel healthy and fully able to perform required duties with minimum time on the sick list; to restore the wounded as quickly and completely as possible; and to determine impartially the degree of incapacity of invalided casualties for purposes of compensation and rehabilitation in civilian life.

We are not aware of any disease which affects certain races only, although the study of comparative pathology reveals that variations in the course of diseases are discernible in different races. It likewise becomes evident that some races possess a distinct susceptibility to certain diseases. But the major problems of present warfare in the tropics are, on

the one hand, the vastness of the combat theater with the difficulty both of adequate supply and proper care of the sick and wounded, and, on the other, coping efficiently with the four paramount tropical diseases—malaria, enteric fevers, impetigo and ringworm, and nutritional deficiencies, apart from ordinary diseases and problems of hygiene.

PAST EXPERIENCES

The exigencies of war with its massing of large bodies of men have boosted preventive medicine from the bleachers to the reserved box in the grandstand. Many of the Crusades failed because of pestilence, mainly malaria, bubonic plague, and enteric fevers. In 1348, the year of the "Black Death," probably one quarter of the entire population of Europe died of bubonic plague. In the Crimean War the British lost 4,600 killed in battle and 17,500 from disease, the French 20,240 killed and 75,000 from disease. As late as in the Boer War, more men died of typhoid fever than in battle. For the first time in the history of protracted warfare, medical science triumphed in the years 1914 to 1918, when disease claimed fewer victims than did weapons.

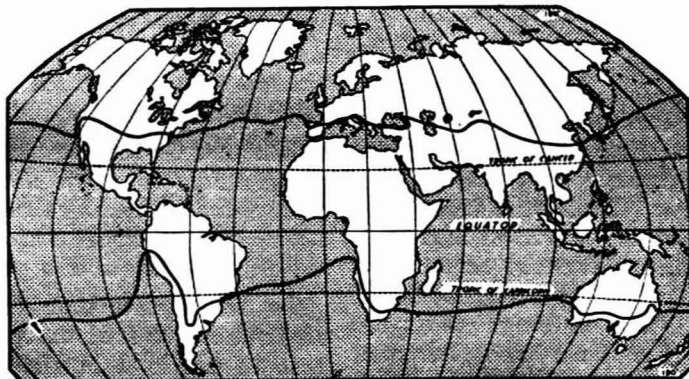
An outstanding achievement of World War I was the heroic stand of the German Colonial Corps in East Africa under General von Lettow-Vorbeck. Cut off from all supply routes, the replenishment of ammunition and vital medical supplies was attempted by raids on enemy bases and stores. In some regions even cinchona trees were planted with a view to eventual quinine production. The chief problem in the field of operations was to

find water, and enough of it, besides food and proper clothing. As for diseases, malaria and the dysenteries took the heaviest toll. They were the same obstacles which faced the builders of the Panama Canal, who mastered them only at enormous cost in money and men and with every conceivable help at their command.

MALARIA

More than any other single health problem in tropical warfare, malaria demands the lion's share both in control effort and in treatment. To conquer this premier malady of the hot countries is not yet possible, but effective control is indispensable in order to maintain the combat power of the troops. Malaria has often had a hand in changing history.

The decline of both Greek and Roman culture was precipitated by malaria. The native population could offer little resistance, whereas the slaves from Africa and the East were highly immune. Yet Fate spared



Regions with pathology representative of the tropics. They are approximately bordered in the north by the yearly mean isotherm of 59° F., in the south by that of 68° F. shown on our map

neither side: it was also malaria that felled Alaric on his victorious march to the south; he had just conquered the Eternal City and was carrying the might of the Visigoths to North Africa. And more than once did malaria turn the tide against the proud Ghibelline emperors who had been victorious in the battlefield.

Malaria's peculiar mode of infection requires the anopheles mosquito. Only a few races of this species are vectors (disease carriers) of any consequence, and only against these must effective control be directed. However, whereas one anopheles type is a most dangerous vector in one country, it may be quite harmless

in another. In Yugoslavia, malaria is chiefly transmitted by *Anopheles maculipennis*, a species that becomes progressively rarer to the south, where the prevailing temperature is already above its optimum of life. In the Philippines the principal carrier is *Anopheles minimus*, which breeds in the foothills' slow-running streams and sluggish brooks banked by weeds and leaf-debris. But the lowlands are conspicuously free, in spite of rice fields and their irrigation canals. Hence control measures are comparatively simple, nor do they conflict with established agricultural habits. In neighboring Java and in the Malay Peninsula, however, the most dangerous species is *Anopheles ludlowi*, which breeds not only in rice fields but even in the brackish water of fish ponds. Here effective control is bound to interfere with the customs and ways of life to such a degree as to be incompatible with the established manner of livelihood of the population.

Branding the enormous harm done by the myriads of insect pests, the great entomologist Howard has passed the mournful judgment that we flatter ourselves to be living in the era of Man but are actually still enslaved in the era of insects. This applies to malaria more than anything else. Although the passages through the Suez and Panama Canals are now kept safe, control of the fecund mosquito is a continuous gargantuan task. In the forests of Madagascar, in the oases of North Africa, in the jungles of Malaysia, in the disembarkation camps at Basra, in the oil fields of the Caucasus and along the vital railroads of Soviet Central Asia, malaria is the chief health impediment. It can be checked, where the cost is worth the money—in saved lives or in terms of crops and commerce. But continuous control measures permit no slip.

Control measures vary according to the soil and the peculiar breeding conditions of the responsible anopheles vector. In tropical warfare, advance study is required of the malaria peculiar to the area under consideration and of the habitat of the pertinent transmitter. Under field

conditions, and especially in a war of rapid movement, effective measures against the mosquito are extremely difficult. It is rarely possible to accommodate advancing troops in adequately screened quarters or to provide and enforce the use of individual mosquito nets. Only in some instances will commanders be able to select camping places where anopheles are likely to be absent.

So medicinal prophylaxis is often the only remaining means of prevention. But this must be rigidly enforced, since the careless attitude of officers and men has often been responsible for great losses. The individual soldier, shunning the unpleasant accompanying side-effects of the medicament, too often lacks sufficient insight. During the Great War, for instance, medical officers could only make sure of the men really taking their quinine dose by lining up officers and men, giving them quinine dissolved in water, and letting each say his name after he had swallowed the bitter fluid.

The new German synthetic antimalarial drugs mean progress of the first magnitude and, notwithstanding their high cost and their side-effects, open up a new avenue to the quickest cure of that perfidious malady.

In the Great War the incidence of malaria on the Balkan front near Salonika rose to nearly a hundred per cent. No less may be expected today in some malaria-ridden districts unless preventive measures have been effectively carried out. As in many other fields, war again provides a mass experiment on a scale hitherto unparalleled. But results in various areas can only be compared if similar conditions prevail and if prophylactic medication has been rigorously enforced.

THE ENTERIC FEVER GROUP

Seen as preventable diseases, the enteric (intestinal) fevers must be dealt with from the standpoint of epidemiology, which considers the mass aspect of the disease, not the sick individual. It reckons with the group, or herd, as the unit of observation.

Though their apposite microbes are widely at variance, cholera, typhoid fever,

the paratyphoid fevers, and both dysenteries can all be classed under one heading from the point of view of preventive epidemics. They have much in common. No animal host is required. Infection invariably means a short circuit between the excretions of one person and the mouth of another, however indirect that route may be. As a matter of fact, direct contact transmittal is rare, but infection is brought about in great part by mouth through food and drink. A surreptitious draught of polluted water or from a contaminated cup may have dire consequences, especially in the case of cholera. Osler's triad of three "F's" ranks first among routes of transmittance:

| | | | |
|---------|-------------------|---|------|
| Feces — | Fingers | — | Food |
| Feces — | Fomites (Rubbish) | — | Food |
| Feces — | Flies | — | Food |

To avoid defects in sanitary organization is particularly difficult when large troop movements are necessary. Proper disposal of human excreta, of garbage and rubbish is perplexing enough in civilian life wherever large numbers of people are gathered. Human disease carriers play a very important part in the causation and recurrence of epidemics, whether they are convalescents or chronic carriers. The outbreak of explosive epidemics is greatly enhanced by a combination of factors such as the arrival of new susceptible individuals (troops from other regions, for example) in an area of low sociological and hygienic culture favoring the eventual intake of the pertinent micro-organism.

In the Boer War enteric fevers were still far more fatal than shells and bullets. In the years 1914 to 1918 they were almost negligible. In no other realm of health has preventive medicine triumphed to such a degree, partly through the diligent enforcement of general hygienic measures and partly owing to the proper prophylactic inoculations.

IMPETIGO AND RINGWORM

Sweat and humidity promote the softening up of the skin on which pyogenic (pus-producing) bacteria and fungi then

thrive. Healthy skin is greatly impervious to both. But the manifestations of either frequently follow upon a breakdown, at least locally, of natural resistance as well as upon massive contaminating contact with germs. The latter abound in military camps and in the open, and the former often occurs when general personal hygiene becomes difficult or impossible to pursue, with bathing and soap at a premium. Now conditions are ideal for microbes to hunt Man, and an army may suffer seriously from this persecution.

The superficial pus-filled blisters and blebs of impetigo are caused by pyogenic bacteria. They are the marks of a dirt disease which affects principally children. But, given favorable circumstances, the impetigo pustules may spread like wildfire on the adult's skin, too.

In susceptible skin certain fungi may produce various skin eruptions. They have nothing to do with "worms," but the colloquial term "ringworm" alludes to the occasional serpiginous configuration (ring-shaped, progressive patches on the skin) caused by them. Fungi are a low species of plant. Some of them are yeasts and molds; others are apt to invade the superficial layers of the human skin or even attack inner vital organs.

Moist, softened skin is especially suited for such an invasion. Hence the skin folds, the groin, and the spaces between the toes and fingers of most people become affected by one or another fungus infection, though gross subjective symptoms may remain absent for a long time. "Athlete's Foot" refers to the infection acquired on out-of-door tracks and in shower-rooms when no shoes are worn. In the tropics, ringworm is often transferred through contaminated laundry: "Dhobie Itch," *Dhobie* being the very low Hindu caste entrusted with the washing of clothes.

The prickly heat of the tropics in its simple form is not a ringworm affection but a form of eczema many people suffer as a result of profuse sweating on hot and humid days, often after taking alcohol

and hot and spicy food. But as a result of chafing and scratching due to the itchiness of prickly heat, ringworm infection may well supersede.

Under active-service conditions in warm climates, particularly in a war of movement, it is usually impossible to procure adequate bathing, much less laundering. Marching through lowland jungles, legs and feet never get dry, and the spaces between the toes become an ideal place for fungus growth. An army marches on—but not when it is footsore.

NUTRITIONAL DEFICIENCIES

Although distinct nutritional diseases like beriberi, scurvy, and keratomalacia will hardly occur frequently among the selected healthy manpower of a modern army, the quartermaster corps faces a major task in the tropics in providing a diet with what are known as "protective foods." Except in a frozen state and in large cities, meat is seldom available locally in sufficient quantity and faultless quality. Dairies are small, few, and far between. Minimum requirements for the necessary vitamins in food become hard to meet. Among them, Vitamin C is probably the most vital yet the least stable. Vegetable and fruit are its main source. Even in peace time, such an agricultural country as the Philippines had every month to import over three thousand tons of vegetables and about twelve hundred tons of fruit and nuts! With the Herculean problem of transport in war time, it is well-nigh impossible to secure these needs for large bodies of troops. Yet any organized feeding of armies designed adequately to maintain health must necessarily be based upon sound nutritional considerations rather than on the daily swallowing of tablets of alphabetical portraiture.

OTHER IMPORTANT DISEASES

Occasionally one or the other of the ubiquitous diseases may assume a position of the first magnitude in the tropics. Among them is dengue fever, which can incapacitate great numbers of men, as anyone who has ever suffered the splitting

headache and excruciatingly painful spine it causes will tell you. With the pertinent mosquito carrier omnipresent, humans and even monkeys seem to form the reservoir for the causative virus of explosive flare-ups in epidemic form. As a rule, no one dies of dengue, though during an epidemic in Greece a few years ago many people are said to have succumbed. Pappataci fever is a similar malady, also caused by a virus, and transmitted by sandflies.

The spirochete of Weil's Disease (infectious jaundice) is usually plentiful where urine of rats soils toilet floors, and in certain creeks and swimming pools. Especially in Egypt and the Far East, flukes of the *schistosomum* species are widespread; their intermediary hosts are specific snails. From these snails, cercariae (larvae) emerge during the hot hours of the day. They penetrate the skin of men swimming in the infested pool or wading through irrigation ditches.

Hookworm is the plague of all military camps in the tropics where the ground becomes infested through the indiscriminate disposal of human excreta. The larvae soon hatch in moist soil and infect the human host through the skin, usually when he is barefooted. By the installation of proper latrines, German medical pioneers succeeded in doing away with this scourge in the plantations throughout the Dutch East Indies. In a world-wide campaign supported by large funds, the Rockefeller Foundation followed suit and liberated millions of people from this pestilence. Infestation with the common roundworm is much more widespread than with hookworm, but usually less serious. Like dysentery, infection generally takes place by eating raw vegetables or fruit (such as strawberries) from gardens where human excrements have been used for fertilizing.

In some of the dry, hot, dust-ridden countries such as Egypt and parts of China, trachoma of the eye is a serious problem, with no known preventive except the control of flies. Herded together under poor sanitary conditions, large troop contingents are also widely

exposed to relapsing fever; it is transmitted in Africa by certain ticks and here in China by body lice. Though it is mostly acquired in childhood, infection may loom in heavily infested areas when nutrition is inadequate and other diseases have lowered general resistance.

In dry sandy ground and on the clay floor of huts, chiggers may abound. Boring into toes and soles by the score, this flea species can disable whole detachments. And men marching through some of the wet jungle forests of southern Asia and the Pacific Islands run the gauntlet of bloodthirsty leeches teeming in the foliage and sodden grass.

Finally there is the host of insects to be found in hot, humid countries with a low hygienic level and a poor standard of living. Foremost among them ranks the nuisance from the common mosquito, even when not transmitting disease; but the annoyance from bedbugs, fleas, and ticks may also be considerable and affect the strained nerves of fighting men.

Sunstroke, with excessively high fever and dangerous unconsciousness, as well as its less serious preliminary stages, can be prevented by rigorously forcing the troops to wear proper helmets. Strangely enough, sunstroke may be common in one country and quite absent in another of the same latitude and sunshine.

Heatstroke is largely a matter of the body's faulty heat conditioning. When the heart is not above par, and particularly in closed rooms with stale hot air of high humidity, the regulation mechanism of certain persons breaks down. To protect against such an event, proper ventilation must be provided in tanks, engine rooms, and workshops; ample fluids must be supplied with enough salt to make up for the loss through sweating; and any possible heat congestion during marching due to unnecessarily heavy or too tightly fitting garments must be avoided.

But, by force of circumstance, diseases of the respiratory tract are still the primary problem of all diseases and on all theaters of war. Throat troubles, influenza, bronchitis, and pneumonia are

all uppermost in the public's appreciation, but unsung is the sinister rhapsody of the common cold. It seriously impedes doing effectively sustained work, it reduces general resistance, and paves the way to other maladies. The fighting men have usually suffered severe hardships—long, forced marches with insufficient shelter and sleep, with a lack of adequate water and food. With all this, and crowded together, they are an easy prey to contagion. The same applies to training camps, where explosive epidemics of children's diseases like measles and mumps are favored by the presence of many susceptible recruits.

More than any other single infectious disease, bubonic plague and cholera have in the past swept our globe in explosive epidemic form at various times. Today cholera still claims many victims in large parts of Asia and South America. Inoculations and isolation of cases can control a flare-up of epidemic proportions.

Bubonic plague has always spread from one of the five or six endemic centers in the world along the trade routes of grain. It is primarily a disease of rodents; when they die, their fleas seek other hosts. Coolies unloading grain cargoes, people hunting and handling small rodents and their furs, and inhabitants of densely populated waterfront districts, where rats abound, are the ones most frequently to fall ill. The control of bubonic plague must still be carried out through erecting ratproof buildings and periodically fumigating ships and grain silos rather than by attempts at mass vaccination.

VENEREAL DISEASES

Soldiers are not yet plaster saints. After having faced death, they are prone to overindulge in food, alcohol, and other dissipations. In the tropics, and especially under mobilization conditions, suitable sexual partners are few and far between, if one excepts prostitution in its narrower sense. Here promiscuity may make each infective case the focus for an explosive epidemic. For troops, the control of venereal diseases rests upon individual prophylaxis as well as on

preventing the diseased female carrier from spreading the infection. But sex cannot be abolished.

During the summer of 1917 the British Expeditionary Forces in France had, at times, as many as 23,000 hospital beds occupied by venereal-disease patients. That represents the manpower of two whole infantry divisions. Their average hospital stay was 46 days, so that the loss in fighting power reached the staggering total of 70,495,000 soldier-days per year. The American forces lost 6.5 million soldier-days during the Great War due to hospitalization of venereal-disease cases. In the American Expeditionary Forces in France, the venereal-disease morbidity in the disembarkation port of Saint-Nazaire was sometimes as high as twenty per cent. Similar examples could be given from most of the armies in the Great War. I vividly recall a number of instances where highly skilled and valuable men under my command fell ill, entailing serious loss to the combat units.

To give a present-day example: Vonderlehr of the US Public Health Service reports that among 1,070,000 volunteers and selectees recently examined there were altogether 48,500 active cases of syphilis, with only 1.85 per cent among whites but the enormous proportion of 24.12 per cent among Negroes. This shows that the sociological standard greatly affects the incidence of venereal diseases among different population groups.

"SPOTTY MALADIES"

One of the curious riddles of medicine is the regional occurrence of some diseases. Rabies (hydrophobia), for example, does not occur in Borneo or on the island of Bali. Kala-Azar, a protozoan infection of dog and man causing fever, enlargement of the spleen, and progressive emaciation, is widespread in British India and North China. But, mysteriously enough, it has never gained a foothold south of the Yangtze River, although soldiers and refugees have carried it with them.

Elephantiasis enlargement of the legs is often observed in persons suffering from parasitic worms in the blood (filariasis) in New Guinea, the South Sea Islands, and certain regions of Africa. Yet it is absent for all practical purposes in adjacent tropical countries where apparently the same blood parasites abound and are transmitted by the same mosquito carrier.

Human sleeping sickness (trypanosomiasis) is endemic to Central Africa only. The malady called oroya fever or *Verruga peruviana*, important from the days when Pizarro conquered Peru up to the most recent warfare in the Chaco, is restricted to deep, hot valleys in the northern Andes. Yellow fever, whose mosquito transmitter, *Stegomyia fasciata*, is probably the most common mosquito in all hot climates, is strictly limited to a belt comprising the tropical parts of South and Central America—including the islands of the Caribbean—and the Atlantic border of Africa. To the esoteric cognate, President Roosevelt's order of over a year ago to inoculate the personnel of the US Marine Corps against yellow fever was of presageful significance.

COMPARATIVELY RARE TROPICAL AILMENTS

In justice to the tropics we must mention that some diseases are comparatively rare in those parts. Among them is typhus (*Typhus exanthematicus*). Its cause is the *Rickettsia prowazeki*, which is transmitted by body lice. But the louse feels happiest at a temperature of between 82 and 91 degrees Fahrenheit, which is that usually prevailing between the skin and the clothes in a cool climate. The louse does not care for the higher temperatures of the tropics. This is one of the reasons why typhus may show an increase in Shanghai and places with a similar climate when hot weather sets in: the louse feels uncomfortably hot inside and seeks other feeding grounds.

Diseases due to streptococci are the daily bread of any surgical dispensary in cool northern Europe or America, but the

army surgeon of any outfit in the tropics will probably be bothered far less by them. In fifteen years I saw fewer cases in Manila than I saw every month in Germany during my years as an interne and as a staff surgeon. The same applies to scarlet fever.

PROBLEMS OF DISTANCE AND SUPPLY

Because of the vast distances involved in World War II, vaster than in any previous war in history, the problem of satisfying the demands for all kinds of vital supplies is a never-ending challenge to the quartermaster corps. The stamina of fighting men is tremendously impaired if they lack sleep and are not adequately sheltered. But, in order to survive, water and food are more vital than arms, shelter, or clothing. Only those who have traveled in Africa, the Middle East, Burma, and such places can realize the magnitude of this task.

Far from the principal manufacturing centers of Europe and America, and particularly in the tropics, essential medical and dental supplies are as hard to replenish as other indispensable goods; and to repair medical apparatus properly is as difficult as repairing optical instruments, tanks, and guns. The requirements of modern methods of diagnosis and treatment further complicate the care of the sick or wounded soldier. Air transport has, in some instances, helped materially.

In this war it is essential to have large stocks of transfusion blood ready for treating shock and severe hemorrhage. This blood is more difficult to store in the tropics than in a moderate climate. No less than fifty per cent of the blood lost through injury should be replaced. The great demand for it is shown by London's figure of about 165 pints of fluid for a hundred air-raid casualties. Satisfactory management of wounds, burns, and fractures makes heavy demands upon medical and auxiliary personnel as well as on hospital space, so difficult to procure in primitive tropical areas. The same applies to radiology and elementary laboratories.

WEIGHING EVIDENCE AND COLLECTING DATA

War offers wonderful opportunities for mass experiments. When the individual life does not count, when money is of no importance, and when large-scale tests become compulsory for the common good, progress advances by leaps and bounds in every field.

In the Great War, the greatest advance was made by the technical sciences. Apart from diseases alone, in the sphere of Man and human relations chances of unparalleled dimensions are afforded for the study of human behavior under forced conditions, a study which would be strongly opposed in civilian life by all concerned, either because of sheer ignorance or ill-conceived ideology.

As was the case with cholera and typhoid fever during World War I, it is hoped that the protective value of preventive immunization against other diseases will be clarified.

Bacillary dysentery, even more than the amoebic form, is the great scourge of the hot countries. In the Philippines, prophylactic injections have been used by us for years with undoubtedly good results. The incidence from bacillary dysentery among the personnel of the US Asiatic Fleet going up to Chefoo in the summer was infinitely lower among those men who had previously been vaccinated with antidyenteric vaccine than in a nonvaccinated large control group of sailors and marines. This led to the adoption for general use of a mixed vaccine containing germs of cholera, typhoid fever, the paratyphoid fevers, and dysentery combined. In Shanghai this mixed vaccine has not yet been adopted.

The French in Indo-China have reported excellent results from the oral administration of specially prepared anti-cholera vaccine. Since the giving of preparations by the mouth is a great deal easier than by injection, the advantage in immunizing large numbers of people is obvious. Oral immunization against typhoid fever has so far been a failure. I know a good number of patients who

contracted it in spite of previous oral administrations, but I have hardly ever seen a case where the disease was contracted after proper injections.

The fairly strict surveillance of large numbers of men fighting in the tropics, and the possibility of a later check-up, afford further opportunities of studying the influence of malaria on syphilis. Beyond that, and generally speaking, the influence of any co-existing malady, and the effect of superinfection with another disease, upon the primary one are of considerable practical importance. Though surgery has always benefited most, war likewise affords for other fields of medicine the most severe test on the largest possible scale.

But let us state most emphatically that proper food and medicine are not enough. The maintenance of adequate health among troops in the extensive tropical warfare of today is possible only if a sufficient number of intelligent soldiers has been educated in the principles of how to keep healthy. It is futile to give simple instructions concerning the dangers of contaminated water and inadequate or tainted food, of mosquitoes and clandestine habits derogatory to well-being, if the morale of each soldier is not such as to keep unbroken vigilance. And caution is a virtue that soon stales.

TOTEMS AND TABOOS

There are many superstitions among all peoples and in all countries of the world. Troop contingents of different races and religions are a headache, particularly in certain tropical regions. To carry out the law of the Koran entails observing various restrictions. Neither food containing any flesh of swine nor any intoxicant is allowed. During the period of Ramadan, no taking of medicine between dawn and sunset nor even the minute cutting of the skin for a drop of blood for malaria examination is permitted. Another task is to provide enough water for ablution of hands,

mouth, and nose before eating and praying. No orthodox Hindu will eat or drink from containers touched by hands less exalted than of his own caste. The "untouchables" may not draw water from the same well as other castes. Only the Brahman touch is pure for all.

Officers of the British Plague Commission were assassinated not long ago when helping to control the rat pest during an outbreak of bubonic plague in India. They had dared to affront the Hindu god Ganesha, whose earthly vehicle is the destructive rat. And the dogmatic rule against killing any animal whatsoever in Hindu and Buddhist faith applies to all disease transmitters and poisonous snakes alike. Since the cow is particularly sacred, my orthodox Sikhs would never let me inject them with liver extracts made from the livers of cattle, so potent against the pernicious form of anemia. Many are the inhibitions man has placed upon man at times and in places.

CARE OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

Most cities in the tropics can scarcely meet the problem of air-raid shelters. The care of refugees and bombing victims becomes a crucial task. Famine, together with poverty and overcrowding, paves the way for disease. "Scorched earth" policy adds to the misery. Yet a minimum standard of health must be maintained among the general population at home and in occupied territories so that the health of the troops may not be endangered and in order that food and other supplies be produced and secured.

* * *

Tariff barriers and passport quotas can strangle commercial and social intercourse between nations, but they can rarely control epidemics. The people on both sides of the fence should demand a special seat for Public Health and Sociology at the table of any future peace conference, and with some extra votes at that, lest the painful lessons from the years following the first World War are set at naught.







Mount Fuji forms an imposing background for the scores of busy tea pickers

PICKING TEA IN JAPAN

The production of tea is associated in the Western mind with such countries as China, India, and Ceylon. But Japan, too, is a great tea-growing country, ranking fifth among the large producers. The reason for this fact not being generally known is twofold: first, almost her entire production is green tea, which has not become popular in the West; and secondly, it is all consumed at home. Of course, Japan's reputation as a tea-consumer, is well established, her "tea ceremony" being world-famous.

China is the largest producer of tea, with some 300,000 to 500,000 tons per annum, but exports only about 10 per cent of this production. The most important export countries for tea are India, with an average of 150,000 tons of annual exports, Ceylon (about 100,000 tons), and the Dutch East Indies (about 70,000 tons)



This is how the tender young leaves at the tip of each branch are pinched off



A sip of the brew made with the leaves of the last harvest refreshes the young picker of this harvest



Dr. Paul Schmidt, who speaks for the German Government



S. A. Lozovsky, leading official propagandist of the Soviet Government

THEIR VOICES ARE HEARD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD



Tomokazu Hori, the Japanese Government's political spokesman



SPOKESMEN

By JOSEPH GIESENKIRCHEN

The developments of the last few years have led to the creation of several new occupations. One of the strangest among these is that of spokesman. Although the words of the various government spokesmen appear every day among the important news items in all newspapers, the men themselves—in contrast to the members of other new occupations, such as air-raid wardens, roof-spotters, radio announcers, paratroopers, and panzer generals—have, to our knowledge, not yet rated a special study.

In the present conflict, in an era of total war, the realm of news, too, can no longer be left to itself. News has become one of the most important weapons of this war and, just like the manufacture of all other weapons, its issue has been concentrated to the greatest possible degree. The living exponent of this fact is the spokesman. Every word he says is flashed around the globe a few minutes later. No one else in the world speaks today, every day, with such consistent and wide resonance. Not only the papers of his own nation but also those of foreign countries publish his utterances and use them as the basis on which to judge the policy of his government.

We have asked a journalist with wide experience abroad to write on the theme of spokesmen. Joseph Giesenkirchen is at present in Tokyo as correspondent of the "Essener National Zeitung." A journalist since he left school, the author spent several years in the USA, which he knows from one end to the other, as well as in England and other countries. He has met all of the spokesmen described with the exception of Lozovsky, who was not appointed until after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war.—K.M.

TODAY almost all capitals of politically important countries have adopted the system of foreign press conferences and thus have their spokesmen. According to his personality, his political importance, and the power and the confidence he enjoys with his government, the spokesman is not only a connecting link between government and foreign press but in many cases an active instrument of national policy, of political aggression or defense. An excellent spokesman in command of all problems represents an absolutely invaluable agent of national policy and a great help to foreign correspondents. Within a few

years, government spokesmen have become an essential part of the press policy of the capital cities of the world.

"Spokesman" of a government is not a professional title. It is solely the function of a man holding anything from the lowest to the highest government position who has for a certain period been given the task of publicizing the political views of his government and, in co-operation with various ministries, of quashing hostile propaganda through skillful counteraction.

This task is not accorded the same significance everywhere. In some coun-

tries, for instance in England, the post of spokesman does not carry much weight, while in other countries every conference of foreign correspondents echoes throughout the world because of the personality of the spokesman and the press policy taken. One head of a world power, President Roosevelt, attaches so much importance to the press conferences that he has even reserved the role of spokesman for himself.

THE SPOKESMAN OF THE WILHELMSTRASSE

We shall begin our survey with that spokesman whom we happen to know best, the "spokesman of the Wilhelmstrasse." Dr. Paul Schmidt comes from a family of farmers and artisans in central Germany. While still in high school he became active for the National-Socialist Party, and during his years at university, where he worked at the Institute of Psychology, he was well known as a Party speaker. Today he is the youngest of all government spokesmen and almost certainly one of the youngest, if not the youngest Minister. He is just over thirty, and yet he is famous throughout the world for his frank statements, his cutting commentaries, his witty remarks, and his skillful rejection of enemy propaganda theses. Although he was active as a journalist for only a short time, he is a qualified newspaper man who, in his present activity, combines the adaptability of a diplomat with his own keen judgment and understanding for the desires, difficulties, and requirements of the correspondents.

His press conferences in the Foreign Office and in the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin are hardly ever missed by a foreign correspondent. The atmosphere is usually exciting. The correspondents show great interest, and the spokesman is untiring in answering questions. Because he understands the work of a foreign correspondent, he frequently arranges for important announcements, such as of the carrying out of political and sometimes even military actions, to be made first of all in the press conferences. No other

press conference in the world has seen such dramatic tenseness as the Berlin ones of, to give just a few examples, April 9, 1940, announcing the Norwegian campaign; May 10, 1940, the beginning of the campaign in Holland, Belgium, and France; April 6, 1941, announcing the campaign in Yugoslavia and Greece; and, the most dramatic of all, that of June 22, 1941.

In this way the correspondents are in a position to cable home the news quickly, while valuable comments are offered them in mutual discussion. Over and over again we saw how correspondents rang up their Berlin offices from the Foreign Office in Berlin and asked to have a wire cleared half an hour later to New York, Tokyo, Stockholm, etc. And in their rush they were less concerned with the news itself than with Dr. Schmidt's commentary.

DRAMATIC PRESS CONFERENCES

We recall, for instance, the months after the Tripartite Pact had been concluded in Berlin to keep the United States out of the war. The provocation of the American press and the aggressiveness of the American President were ignored for a long time in Berlin just as in the other capitals of the Axis powers. With journalistic smartness, sometimes by the most roundabout ways, sometimes by a straight question, the correspondents tried in the press conferences to discover the Wilhelmstrasse's attitude toward the mounting provocations. The whole world was intensely interested in the attitude of the German Government. This was the time when the skill of the spokesman became especially apparent. There was a constant rain of questions, above all from the American correspondents themselves. And there was a constant stream of answers, but answers which, although they represented serious treatment of the problem, allowed of no daring or premature combinations.

On a later occasion, when Senator Pepper declared, during the Japanese-American negotiations, that, in the case of war, "Tokyo will be reduced to ashes

in the first attack and Japan's fleet will be forced to capitulate within ninety days," Dr. Schmidt called this contention a "wishful dream taken from the American cupboard of conjectures," a fitting phrase often quoted since then.

NO CENSORSHIP

It was, perhaps, to a great extent the skill of this spokesman and of other personalities and offices entrusted with dealing with the foreign press which enabled the German Government to refrain from enforcing censorship of cables and telephone conversations of the foreign correspondents even in war time. A prerequisite for this was the patient training of these correspondents, which at first entailed many reversals. Only those who know the demands made by American news services and newspapers on their correspondents can appreciate what difficulties had to be overcome. But in the end this training was successful, and even during the war the co-operation between the German authorities and the foreign correspondents developed on the whole satisfactorily.

Through the extraordinary sequence of great events during the last ten years, Berlin had become an Eldorado for every journalist. The Berlin correspondents of foreign newspapers could constantly report on developments and plans which necessarily overshadowed the reports of the foreign correspondents in most other capitals as regards reader-interest throughout the world. No good journalist wished to lose this advantage. Hence he avoided dealing with things which simply must not be talked about by anyone, including foreigners, in a belligerent country.

For years before war was declared between the USA and Germany, German correspondents in America had been exposed to undignified treatment and had been admitted only reluctantly to the Washington press conferences. Eventually German correspondents in Washington were forbidden, also in a very undignified manner, to participate in the press conferences. The German Govern-

ment saw itself forced to retaliate. On the following day the American correspondents were told at the beginning of the conference that their future presence would not be possible because of the exclusion of German correspondents in Washington. Dr. Schmidt shook hands with each of the American correspondents when they left.

SPEED AND THE JOURNALIST

Although exploiting time may not be exactly the journalist's daily bread, it is at least his butter and jam. On special occasions, mimeographed or hurriedly printed information, explanations, announcements, etc., are therefore sent out by Dr. Schmidt's office to the correspondents. On still more important occasions, special conferences are called, among which those called at the beginning of a new campaign represent dramatic climaxes of journalistic participation in world-shaking events.

On several occasions the foreign correspondents in Berlin were asked to a Government press conference in the small hours of the morning. Of course, all correspondents have a telephone, but nevertheless, in order to reach them in any case and not to let one be at a disadvantage, a smoothly functioning system has been introduced. Half an hour or an hour before the conference, that is to say, usually while it is still dark, the telephone rings. Even the man who is favored with especially deep sleep is not placed at a disadvantage. Should he not answer the phone, the police station of his district is rung up by the press department. A policeman then usually manages to rouse the sleeper. If the latter does not have his own car, the policeman "organizes" a taxi, so that even the tardiest arrives in time at the Wilhelmstrasse. Generally the Foreign Minister and the Minister of Propaganda appear at conferences of this kind. If a war is being declared or a campaign is starting, it often happens at the very same hour in which this conference begins.

It is also largely due to Dr. Schmidt's understanding of the work of the cor-

respondents that the latter are given the possibility of taking trips to the front lines. There is hardly a foreign correspondent in Berlin who has not been in Poland, Holland, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, Greece, and the USSR, generally even at a stage of the campaign when the trip had suddenly to be stopped somewhere because fighting was still going on in the immediate vicinity.

THE PRESIDENT-SPOKESMAN

The star among the spokesmen is the President of the United States. Franklin D. Roosevelt holds press conferences in his study nearly every day. Newcomers among foreign journalists in Washington have always been inclined to consider their first conference with Roosevelt as a great experience. In a way that is what it is; for nowhere but in Washington can you see a president before you in the capacity of spokesman.

Roosevelt, the spokesman of the Washington Government and, as such, of his own policy, was one of the first to recognize the importance of the press. As a shrewd judge of the psychology of his countrymen, he has always been intent on putting himself in the proper light before the hundred million newspaper readers in the United States. His self-appointment as spokesman was rather unusual, and the tricks with which he tried to clear the atmosphere, especially in times of political difficulties at home, were often amusing and entirely adjusted to American conditions. One of his favorite methods of gaining the sympathy of the correspondents is to call them by their first name and to ask after their family. He has been known to ask a correspondent, "Well, Jack, how's the baby?" If it happened to be a Jack who did not have any baby, he would raise a laugh by the remark: "It's time you had one, anyway!"

The press conferences became an important instrument for Roosevelt to influence public opinion in America in the direction desired by him—a crusade against the representatives of the New Order. The conferences were the spring-

board for his ideas, and the American and world press his earliest weapon in the present war. In his capacity of spokesman, Roosevelt did not conduct a real press policy but rather his own personal policy. In his vanity and sense of superiority toward other nations, he has been guilty of grave indiscretions in that he, the President and spokesman of his country, has attacked the heads of other states without regard for his own position. His purpose in this was to prepare the ground for his policy, long fixed in its outlines, and he had no desire to separate his real office from that of an often cheap propagandist. He always remained the politics-talking and sensation-loving Roosevelt.

THE MAP THAT DIDN'T EXIST

Measures he intended to carry out himself, he often attributed to the Axis powers at his press conferences. The most incredible case was his announcement of the existence of a map which allegedly had been smuggled out of Germany by an emigrant and which, according to Roosevelt, showed that Germany intended to redive South America into three great states. In spite of urgent requests on the part of Senators, Representatives, and the press, the map was not published, because Roosevelt allegedly wished to protect the bearer. On the basis of Roosevelt's description of the map, Berlin three days later was able to prove that this map had been drawn and published by the American magazine *Time* and was intended to show how *Time* imagined the balance of power in South America after the war. After Dr. Schmidt had announced this fact, Roosevelt never mentioned the map again. Whenever events did not suit him, he passed over them with a bon mot. When the speech of the head of a foreign state is discussed or commented on by spokesmen in other capitals, it is usually a matter of clearly stating the respective attitudes towards this speech. In Washington, however, this was only very rarely the case. When an important speech of Hitler's was announced during a period of crisis, Roosevelt declared that he

would go to bed; and some time ago, when Roosevelt was asked whether he had read the speech made the evening before by Colonel Lindbergh, his political opponent, he answered, "Why should I?" Outside of Washington such answers could not have been given in any press conference by a spokesman who expected to be taken seriously the next day.

"I HAVE NOTHING TO SAY"

In England the spokesman of the press conferences held every day at the Foreign Office prior to the outbreak of the present war has never played a very important part. From our own experience, we knew two men there who took turns to appear before the foreign correspondents and in the same way took turns in declaring, either on their own or in reply to a question, "I have nothing to say today," or "I am afraid I can't tell you."

Mr. Peak was very unpopular with all correspondents, including the English ones. Later on, when he went to Washington as the press attaché of the new Ambassador to the United States, Lord Halifax, an American correspondent in Berlin, who knew Peak well, remarked that, if nothing else, Mr. Peak would do his share to damage Lord Halifax and his mission in Washington. Personal arrogance and contempt of journalism were the characteristics of this spokesman, for whom, contrary to the demands of his duty, a journalist represented even less than a necessary evil.

Mr. Readsdaile, on the other hand, was quite a pleasant fellow. However, most of the time he had to say, like Mr. Peak, his superior, "I am afraid I can't tell you," although, in spite of their negative content, his words sounded more friendly and seemed to contain more understanding for the journalist.

In their stubborn, sometimes intentional failure to recognize the importance of journalism, the London press conferences remained to the last a farce. This was expressed, frequently and clearly, by the American journalists especially, who did not care at all for this kind of treatment.

EAST ASIA'S SPOKESMEN

Nowhere in the world, with the exception of the USA, do newspapers have as large circulations as in Japan, above all in Tokyo. It is, therefore, easy to understand that the Japanese Government has always paid special attention to the press and has transferred this attention from the press of its own country to that of foreign countries too. Thus, as in so many other places, the occupation of spokesman was created with special instructions to look after the foreign press. At first the spokesmen were members of the Foreign Office. During the first three years of the China conflict, no changes were made, until the Bureau of Information was established in 1940 and some of the officials entrusted with press relations were transferred to it.

For some time the spokesman was Mr. Iishi, who was transferred to the Japanese Embassy in Bangkok shortly before the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War. Like Mr. Iishi, Mr. Tomokazu Hori, his successor, is distinguished by his understanding for the foreign press. His press conferences have become smaller as a result of the war; for, beside the German and Italian correspondents and, of course, the Japanese, there remain only one French and two Soviet participants. The largest contingent among the foreigners is supplied by Germany, whose agencies and newspapers are represented by fourteen journalists.

Mr. Hori's strong point is his thorough commentating of current political questions. His comments are often made in such a form that, without cutting or addition, they represent polished political leading articles. Moreover, they are often published as such by the press of the Axis nations. He is aided in his comments by his wide experience in the diplomatic service and his former years of activity as a spokesman before he took over his present office. From 1924 to 1928, Hori was attached as secretary to the Japanese Embassy in Washington, and after temporary occupation in Tsingtao, Nanking, and Shanghai he returned to America, where he was consul in Los

Angeles from 1934 to 1937. In 1937 he went to Tientsin, where he was speaker in a combined press conference held by the consulate together with the Japanese Army and Navy for Japanese as well as foreign correspondents. However, he is better known for his year as spokesman in Shanghai from December 1940. From there he took over his present position as head of the press department of the Bureau of Information.

Through the War of Greater East Asia the importance of the Bureau of Information has grown considerably. More than ever before, news from Tokyo is given front-page space in all the newspapers of the world, especially since the Japanese Government can issue Army and Navy reports announcing unprecedented successes following each other with incredible rapidity. The term "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" was first given out to the newspapers and thus to the public of the whole world by the Japanese spokesman.

In contrast to many other countries, there are several spokesmen in Japan. Mr. Hori comments on all purely political events, while the Navy and the Army have their own spokesmen, Captain Hiraide and Colonel Nakao Yahagi. The latter do not hold foreign press conferences but regularly comment on current naval or military questions over the radio, so that their comments find their way into the foreign press by this more roundabout route. Incidentally, Mr. Hori also comments on all important political events over the radio for the domestic field. Besides these, there are other spokesmen in Japan whose tasks are limited entirely to the domestic field. There are also Japanese press conferences and spokesmen outside of Japan, especially in Shanghai and Peking.

How seriously the whole question is taken by Japan can be seen from the fact that such outstanding men as Lt. Colonel Yokoyama, Captain Kamada, and Mr. Hirota have been appointed in Shanghai to the positions of spokesmen of the Army, Navy, and Embassy re-

spectively. As in the case of Mr. Hori, the brilliant spokesmanship in Shanghai of Lt. Colonel Akiyama was one of the steps in his rise to prominence. Accompanied by assistant spokesmen and skillful translators they meet the representatives of the Japanese, German, Italian, French, and Russian press as well as of local Shanghai papers twice a week in the Palace Hotel to discuss with them in a friendly atmosphere the events of the day.

The modern Japanese governments have always maintained a liberal press policy. Japan could, therefore, afford not to introduce official press censorship until after four years of war in China. However, this censorship has been handled with great understanding even since the outbreak of the Pacific war. Of course, this attitude of the Japanese is made easier by the fact that by far the greater part of the foreign correspondents in Tokyo are members of nations allied with Japan.

OLDTIMER IN NEW JOB

Finally, we must deal with a man who has appeared on the political stage as spokesman since the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, Solomon Abramovitch Lozovsky. Although he is new as a spokesman, he has been known for years as an old revolutionary, agitator, strike organizer, and traveling salesman for Bolshevism.

Lozovsky's real name is Abraham Dridzo. He changed his name in 1905 on the occasion of a revolt in Samara (now Kuibyshev), when he was arrested and taken to Siberia but managed to escape on the way from the Tsarist police. He had begun his revolutionary career in 1901 in the illegal Russian Social-Democratic Party. From 1920 to 1940 he headed the Profintern (the Red International of Labor Unions). It speaks for his adaptability that he managed, as one of its founders, to remain at its head for over twenty years and was one of the few to survive the numerous bloody purges.

The Kremlin is adept at hiding its internal proceedings from the unwelcome curious eyes of the outside world. For that reason this outside world was a little surprised when the former labor-union leader was made first a vice-commissar of foreign affairs and then spokesman for the Soviet Government. There was no need for surprise, for Lozovsky is an old hand at foreign affairs, and only the plane was new on which he was to play his role.

It is in a way a tragicomic fact that the man who, in his present exposed position, has to speak loudest and most often of the common aims and the naturalness and inseparability of the present union of the so-called democratic front, at one time contributed not a little toward undermining the state foundations of these allies of today.

CHASED BY THE POLICE

In the late twenties Lozovsky was treated with less flattery in England than since June 1941. For at that time his name was known only in connection with a warrant from Scotland Yard issued against him for revolutionary activities, inciting the masses, and successful strike agitation in the mining districts of Wales and Scotland. Lozovsky managed to escape under an assumed name with a passport manufactured by the Communist headquarters in England.

Prior to his debut on the British Isles, he was busy as an *agent provocateur* on the Continent. He proved to be too much even for a Social-Democratic government in Germany and was expelled from the Reich. He transferred his field of activity to France. There his Bolshevik ideas were at first regarded with less disfavor. But in the end the French Government, too, had enough of it. It expelled the Jewish agitator after his name had appeared on various occasions in connection with the disappearance of leading members of the White Russian colony.

He devoted the next few years mainly to propagating Bolshevik ideas in the merchant fleets of the world. A former

functionary of the Communist Party in Germany, who wrote the best-seller *Out of the Night*, gives us an impressive insight into this activity. He describes a meeting of the Maritime Section of the Comintern in the Red Hall of the Profinintern Central Bureau in Moscow in January 1930. A little man with a haggard, almost hollow face and untidy hair but with uncommonly lively and fanatical eyes dominated the meeting. It was Lozovsky, the head of the Profinintern. His talent for speaking struck the author, as well as his almost overbearing sarcasm. The conference had been called to work out plans for the founding of an International of Seamen and Harbor Workers, to be led by Moscow, as well as of Red Waterfront Unions to cover all continents and to undermine their economic system.

AGITATION IN THE PACIFIC

The Red propaganda dictator has always been deeply interested in the Far East. In 1927 Lozovsky, with the aid of a number of specially chosen assistants, founded the "Pacific Secretariat," whose activities were directed from the Profinintern Headquarters. This organization succeeded within a few years in establishing Red labor union movements in China, Australia, the Philippines, and other countries on the Pacific coast. In August 1929, the first "Congress of Labor Unions in the Pacific Sphere" was held in Vladivostok. The main speaker was Lozovsky, who had just returned from Europe. The conference proved to its satisfaction that within a few years a solid foundation had been laid for the development of a Red labor movement in the countries on the Pacific coast where, until recently, there had hardly been anything in the way of labor organization.

This man, who for the last twenty years has been collecting the most confidential and comprehensive situation reports from all corners of the world to enable him, through minute study of the conditions and feelings in other countries, to plan and execute his large-scale Bolshevik enterprises; this man, who knows the psychology of many nations

and who, perhaps better than anyone else, can judge what the world should hear and what must not be said—this is the man whom Stalin has made the spokesman and leading official propagandist of the Soviet Union.

A TOUGH ASSIGNMENT

During the first few months of the war, Lozovsky sometimes proved to be a skillful propagandist, who supplied above all the English and American press with material for many a catchword and much wishful thinking. His greatest time was during last winter. He made use of the cessation of the German offensive for unbounded victory propaganda. In the beginning of December 1941, for instance, Lozovsky declared at the Kuibyshev press conference that "before the end of winter, the Russian soil will be cleared of all enemies, and Hitler's armies will be driven far into Europe."

During the last few months Lozovsky has lost much of his attraction for the American and British press. There has not been a single occasion when Lozovsky could report a great success. So he had to have recourse to other means. Sometimes he delivers himself of long explanations about the tremendous losses of the

enemy; sometimes he attempts to camouflage the impression of Red defeats by attractive descriptions of life in the Soviet paradise; and sometimes he makes up hair-raising stories about the alleged bad treatment of Soviet prisoners in Germany.

Recently Lozovsky has on several occasions been very unlucky. While he was attempting to convince English and American correspondents that the Red Army was actually becoming stronger through its losses, Stalin's Ambassadors Maisky and Litvinov made speeches in London and Washington which were nothing less than urgent appeals to the Allies for immediate aid. In these circumstances, Lozovsky's versions and explanations, which have hardly anything more to do with reality but arise solely from the daily growing necessity for propaganda, are being given less and less attention in many neutral papers and even in some of the more serious papers in the anti-Axis camp.

* * *

This closes the circle of spokesmen as we know them and as they are known to the public. Their portraits differ as widely from each other as do the causes for which they speak.



WINGS OF THE JAPANESE NAVY

By WILHELM SCHULZE



The last few months have proved that the Anglo-American powers have, to their own detriment, tremendously underrated the fighting power of Japan, the strength of her morale and her arms as well as the ability of her military leadership. That which was underrated most and therefore caused the greatest sensation in the course of the war up to now was the air arm of the Japanese Navy. From the first moment, when the war broke out over Pearl Harbor, and throughout the following months, it has won a long row of successes which were devastating to the fighting power and the prestige of the Allies. It is an irony of fate that it was Great Britain and the United States themselves who, above all during the Washington Conference in 1922, drove Japan to this development.

We have asked Wilhelm Schulze, veteran journalist and Tokyo correspondent of the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," to write the following article on the origin and growth of the Japanese naval air arm.—K.M.

WHEN ON December 8, 1941, together with the news of the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia, the first reports about the Japanese victory in Hawaii were sent out over the ether, many readers may for a moment have doubted the correctness of these reports. The deed was so bold, the success so great, that there were no previous examples to which one could have compared the event. The last doubts, however, were removed through a repetition of this victory, the devastating blow against the British warships *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* two days later, and through the admission of the British defeat by Churchill. Since then scores of individual actions as well as a number of great Japanese victories over the American-British-Dutch fleets have again and again shown the world the overwhelming strength of the Japanese naval airmen. In them Japan possesses a weapon which will not only deeply influence but may even decide the outcome of the war.

EARLY BEGINNINGS

The bearer of these sensational successes, the Japanese Naval Air Force, recently

celebrated the thirtieth year of its existence. It was founded in 1912, one year after the Army Air Force, by two Japanese officers who had returned from lengthy studies in France and America. They established the first Navy flying school at Oppama, near the naval port of Yokosuka. It was not considered very important at the time, as can be seen by the fact that in ten years' work it received barely six million yen in funds. It was not paid serious attention until 1922, when a British air mission, headed by Captain Sennville, was summoned to Japan to reorganize training methods. Not until 1927 did the Navy Ministry create a department for "Naval Flying," which then, however, took determined charge of the development.

This development was dictated to the Japanese Navy heads by the British and Americans at the Washington Conference in 1922 through the ill-famed 5:5:3 stipulation. In limiting the Japanese battleship force to three fifths of those of England and America, they forced the Japanese to turn their attention to unlimited defense possibilities in other

spheres, as, for instance, that of naval airplanes. The development was hastened by the fact that two battle cruisers under construction, the *Akagi* and *Amagi*, could, by agreement with England and America and following their example, be converted into airplane carriers. Instead of the *Amagi*, which was destroyed in the great earthquake of 1923 before completion, the battleship *Kaga* was later converted into an airplane carrier. The *Akagi*, completed in 1927, the *Kaga*, placed in service in 1928, and an older and smaller aircraft carrier, the *Hosho*, formed the nucleus of the Japanese naval air arm, which has now made such a sensational appearance in the Greater East Asia War.

THEY TOOK A CHANCE

It should be emphasized here that, according to recent statements made by responsible admirals, the leaders of the Japanese Navy were soon to recognize the possibility of overcoming the inferiority in numbers and tonnage as compared with the British and Americans by better material, superior training, and the utmost concentration on unlimited weapons. All expert comments since Hawaii reveal unequivocally that, since the Washington Naval Agreement, the training of the Japanese naval fliers has been undertaken with a determination and severity which indicate that the Japanese naval heads were aware of holding a trump card. Other naval leaders could still discuss the relative merits of battleships and aircraft. For the Japanese naval leaders it was enough to see a possibility for the superiority of aircraft to direct their main attention towards this possibility. Of course, the general public did not hear anything of these considerations. At international discussions, Japan gave not the slightest indication that she conceded the naval air arm a good chance in the fight against naval vessels. To all outward appearances Japan continued, like all other naval powers, to place battleships, cruisers, and submarines in the foreground.

As an example of the severity of the training of Japanese naval airmen, it

was recently reported that, after they had received their basic training, they were only rarely given an opportunity to take off in good weather. In a press interview, one of the fathers of Japanese naval aviation, Rear Admiral Matsunaga, gave an account of how severe this training really was, emphasizing that only through a most intensive training lasting twenty years could the achievements of the last six months be won. According to him the training is as follows.

BEARDLESS YOUTHS

Japanese naval fliers are all recruited from volunteers, who must not be less than fifteen or more than seventeen years old on entering the service. So when Matsunaga speaks of the flying heroes, he tenderly uses the expression "beardless youths," indicating by this that the active pilots of Japanese naval aircraft are all little over twenty years old. The first three years of their schooling are devoted to technical matters like navigation, instruments, knowledge of motors, and general theory of flight. Not until the fourth year do they start actual flight training. In the fifth year they learn stunt and night flying, in the sixth landings, and in the seventh starting from airplane carriers. Only at the end of the eighth year does the flying pupil become a full pilot.

Matsunaga recounted that in 1921, when the first aircraft carrier was placed in service, there was only a single Japanese pilot who was able to make a smooth landing on deck, and that it cost *eight thousand* attempts to make two more pilots absolutely sure. He told of the difficulties in taking off with a full bomb load from the short runway of a carrier, and added with a shrug that not a few flying pupils lose their lives before they pass their final tests. In this connection he formulated the classic sentence that in the first year of their training the recruits are filled with the ardent desire to die for their country (which, with the Japanese attitude towards life and death, must be taken literally), but that in the second and following years they are gradually and firmly educated not to die

until they have destroyed the enemy. One result of this training is the willingness of Japanese naval fliers to destroy themselves if they are sure of thereby destroying the enemy.

THE EQUIPMENT

This training is the first pillar of the Japanese successes in war; the equipment placed in the hands of trained pilots represents the second pillar. The Army Air Force and the Naval Air Force, founded separately, have also developed their machines quite separately. Of course, there has always been a general exchange of experience. In the very beginning both branches had to depend on foreign models. But with its entirely different requirements, Japan's aviation as a whole has moved away from foreign patterns and followed its own paths, just as her Army aviation has diverged from her Navy aviation. Today a purely Japanese development is to be found in both branches, and the traces of former co-operation with other countries on the basis of license agreements have disappeared almost entirely. The events of the last few months have shown what a high standard the Japanese planes have reached.

In spite of frequent descriptions and photographs published in the Japanese press with the permission of the Japanese Navy, a secret surrounds the important details of the types of aircraft used by the Japanese Naval Air Force. It should be remembered that one of the reasons for the Japanese successes was that all important information had been kept secret. The same strict secrecy is warranted regarding the inner organization of the Japanese Naval Air Force. Japanese public year-books indicate that the Naval Air Force is divided up into a number of air regiments, which are combined into air corps and air brigades. But since the outbreak of the China conflict and the abrogation of the British and American naval treaties, no details have been published about the number of these regiments, brigades, and corps or about the number of planes belonging to each formation.

UNKNOWN LEADERS

Of course, the same is true also of the command of the Naval Air Force, where the Japanese do not even publish the names of leading personalities. The careers of leading admirals, as far as they have been published in *Who's Who*, reveal that every superior naval officer, every fleet commander, has at one time been connected with the Naval Air Force, has shared the responsibility for its training, and is himself trained to lead it. At the present time we must limit ourselves to the statement that the coastal air formations, equipped mainly with land planes, are placed under the command of the various naval stations, while those attached to the fleet are under the command of the respective fleet commanders. Therefore the victories of the Japanese Naval Air Force in Hawaii and at Kuantan have been credited directly to Admiral Yamamoto, the Commander in Chief of the combined Japanese fleets. Incidentally, Admiral Yamamoto, who was the first training officer of the Japanese Naval Air Force, also has a just claim to be called its father.

The influence of geography on warfare is particularly apparent in the air arm. For Germany, enclosed by the narrow North Sea and Baltic Sea, airplane carriers were not only forbidden at first but also impracticable, since they would have been too easily exposed to enemy bombing attacks and too limited in their field of action. Japan did not have to consider such things in building her fleet. Her geographical position and the vastness of her possible future battlefield pointed logically to exploiting the idea of airplane carriers. Therefore Japan, according to the Japanese *Far East Year-book 1941* (page 106), possessed six aircraft carriers of altogether approximately 90,000 tons and five seaplane tenders.

During the last few months the world has been learning with amazement how these ships and the planes belonging to them have been able to influence the war situation in the Pacific after the danger of American and British battleships had been banished through their first daring attacks.



"EL SALITRE"—

THE SAGA OF A NATIONAL TREASURE

By O. A. GANGL

Never before has the world been so conscious of the importance of raw materials and of their influence on history as today, in this period of far-flung blockades and counterblockades. Everybody has realized that the outcome of the war and the future of mankind greatly depend on the possession of raw materials. Great changes have already taken place as a result of the Axis conquests in Europe and East Asia, and other changes are likely to follow. It is a foregone conclusion that the raw-material situation after the war will be radically different from what it used to be. We cannot yet predict exactly what it will look like, since history is still in the making. However, we can study the past. The following pages tell the story of one of Nature's great bounties, and how it was affected by the ambitions and wars of men.

The author is an engineer who spent some time working in Chile and who now lives in Japan.

The article concerns a country which, together with Argentina, has succeeded, in spite of extreme pressure from Washington, in remaining outside the war as one of the few islands of peace left in a world aflame. In her precarious position, Chile has let herself be guided by her good sense and by her national pride. Perhaps she has also remembered the drama which was forced upon her during the Great War, when the same Great Britain and the same USA who are trying to drag her into war again were responsible for the depreciation in value suffered by her national treasure.
—K.M.

FLIGHT OVER THE INFERNO

THE TWO motors of the Chilean Junkers plane roared monotonously.

For several hours now we had been following the direction of the compass needle due north. It was hot; the sun stood straight before us, and its rays were reflected in a glittering haze from the silver-painted wings of our bird. The drowsy monotony of noise, heat, and light made one tired, and only rarely could one muster enough energy to throw a glance out of the window. The view was always the same, as it had been for hours: far off to the right the towering peaks of the bare Cordilleras, some of them still snow-capped; then a desert, the pampa, a desolate, lifeless landscape which reached right under us; and on the left the steep slopes of the coastal Cordilleras, along which we were flying. Through gaps in the bank of clouds clinging to their western slopes glistened the foaming

breakers of the Pacific. As far as the eye could see everything was bare—no tree, no bush, hardly a trace of life of any kind. Only now and again a ruined corrugated iron shack or the traces of a path which seemed to lose itself in nothing, or maybe a railway track or the remains of a closed mine. Sometimes the form of the scenery seemed to indicate a river valley that had dried up aeons ago. But then the eternal sameness of rising and falling sand dunes with curious rock formations began again. Perhaps Dante imagined his Inferno to be like that.

Involuntarily one was struck by the thought that a forced landing in such a desert could be quite a disagreeable adventure. Ever since La Serena, where for the last time green, cultivated country had smiled up at us, this Nothingness had laid its spell upon us in our flight. But, as a compensation, Nature has endowed this waste with colors which run extrav-

agantly from deepest red, through blue-green and shimmering gray, through the whole spectrum to the white of the distant snow and finally to the delicate blue of the eternally cloudless sky, constantly changing according to the angle at which the rays of the sun are reflected.

The airfields we landed at fitted perfectly into their desolate surroundings. A level square marked with stones, a miserable corrugated iron hut, and a windsock were the only things to indicate the purpose of the place. We had left Santiago at nine in the morning, and at two in the afternoon, far out at sea, we dived with rather a queer feeling through the cloudbank of the coastal mountains and landed in Iquique. We had covered approximately nine hundred miles in this time. And now we were in what had once, together with Antofagasta, been the metropolis of the Chilean saltpeter territory, the center of the great, bygone times of this country. The last outward signs of this past in these cities, which had grown so fast at that time, are the extraordinarily palatial banks and administration buildings of the great nitrate enterprises, which are so out of place beside the modest wood and corrugated iron houses in these sober tree- and gardenless desert towns by the sea.

"WHITE GOLD"

The people, too, were obliged to change with the disappearance of the good old days of the nitrate boom, and to forget the luxury and glamour of those times given to them by *El Salitre*—the white gold. Now and again some old veteran of the pampa becomes talkative and tells about the fabulous incomes of ordinary clerks and the social magnificence of the factory casinos in the lonely pampa, when almost every employee kept his own horse, and when the best of drinks were at the disposal of the employees free of charge, because the companies wanted to keep them in good humor and make their life in those deserts halfway bearable.

As can be seen from our map, the major nitrate deposits in present-day Chile are

to be found in a belt some ten to twenty-five miles wide stretching from Pisagua in the north to the vicinity of Chañaral in the south. This region is to the east of the coastal Cordilleras in the interior of the country, on a plain some 3,000 to 8,000 feet above sea level. Near Iquique it is formed by the broad, dry valley of Tamarugal. Further south we find the Pampa del Toco, the Pampa Central (crossed by the railway from Antofagasta to La Paz), the Pampa of Aguas Blancas near Antofagasta, and that of Taltal with the port of the same name.

The Spanish word *pampa* is taken from the language of the Quechua Indians and really means "plain," as used in the Argentinean pampas. In Chile, however, it has come to be used for any nitrate-bearing district, flat or mountainous, and each owner has then added some local name to distinguish his pampa from the other pampas.

As to the origin of the saltpeter, quite a number of scientific theories have been suggested. Volcanic forces have probably had an important hand in its formation, as is indicated by the presence of sulfates (sodium sulfate etc.). The majority of the present-day deposits are probably secondary or tertiary deposits originating from primary formations higher up in the mountains. However, the chemical composition, physical nature, appearance, and color of the *caliche* (raw saltpeter) often differ so widely even in the case of fields very close to each other that it would seem impossible to find a uniform explanation for the origin of the saltpeter.

THE RAINS NEVER CAME

How can the fact be explained that such extensive deposits have been preserved to this day? The reply is to be found in the peculiar meteorological conditions prevailing in these parts of South America since time immemorial. The plateau containing the nitrate deposits is completely closed in to the west by the coastal Cordilleras, rising from 3,000 to 6,500 feet, and to the east by the main range of the Cordilleras, with peaks

up to 19,000 feet and more. These two ranges keep away the damp air, from the sea as well as from the Argentinean side, like walls. The result is that it never rains in the pampas. Only in the immediate vicinity of the coast and in the high mountains is there occasional mist and rain; but even in those places years may pass without a drop of rain falling. It is these extraordinary weather conditions which have made it possible for Nature to have preserved such vast quantities of highly hygroscopic salts, lying almost everywhere close to the surface, finally to benefit modern agriculture as an excellent fertilizer.

The raw material—the *caliche*—is obtained exclusively by open working. It lies close under the surface, covered by a one- to two-foot layer of soil, salt, or sulfate. The thickness of the deposits varies between one and six feet or more. The extent of the deposits is very irregular. Large, continuous layers usually contain a smaller percentage of nitrates than individual small spots. Deposits are often found on gentle hills and slopes; rich ones, however, occur in troughs but are never found in the old diluvial river valleys.

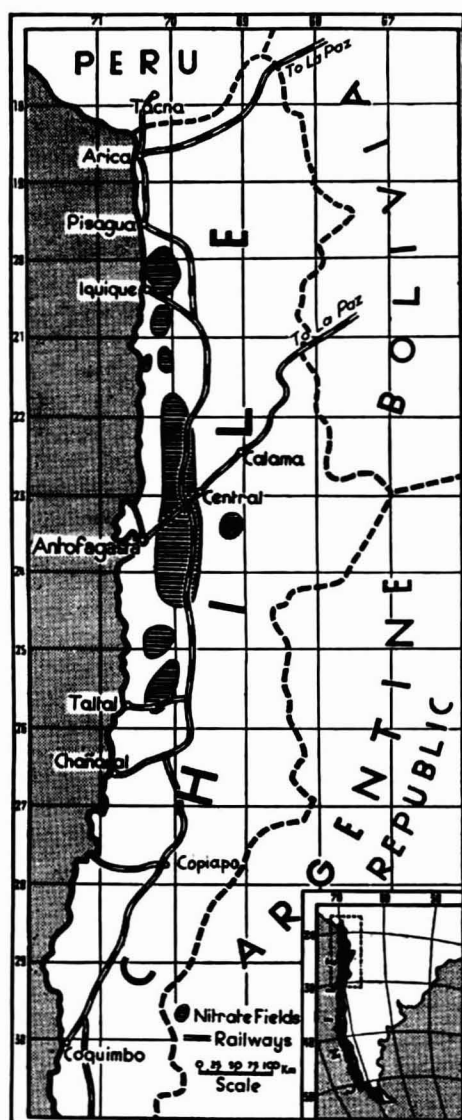
MAN TAKES A HAND

So Nature had presented Man with a rich treasure, which was waiting to be dug up and used. What did he do with this treasure?

For decades after its scientific discovery and the following industrial exploitation, Chile saltpeter formed almost the only raw material for the manufacture of nitric acid and other important nitrate compounds such as explosives, aniline dyes, etc. Above all, however, it was used in agriculture as a fertilizer. Industrial exploitation of the saltpeter deposits began about a hundred and thirty years ago. It was obtained with the primitive technical equipment of that time according to a process discovered by Taddaeus Haenke, a German living in Bolivia. After eliminating other admixtures, pure sodium nitrate was produced by this method.

Until then, the saltpeter deposits had remained entirely untouched. Now small saltpeter refineries sprang up in the district around Iquique, with large boiling vats heated by open fires. They were called *paradas*, and in their primitiveness they had nothing in common with the imposing factories which were to be found later in these parts. The fuel was supplied by trees felled in the Tamarugal valley. With the heedless cutting down that now commenced and the lack of reforestation, these trees soon came to an end.

Around 1830 the value of saltpeter as a fertilizer began to find growing recognition in Europe. The ensuing increasing demand for it led to a rapid develop-



Chile's Nitrate (Saltpeter) Deposits

ment of the saltpeter industry, and new factories, operating on a modern process (using steam during the process of solution), called *oficinas*, shot up like mushrooms. The pampa, till then practically uninhabited, gradually came to life, and the independent countries of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, which were then being formed, very soon recognized the economic value of those desert belts containing saltpeter, so that even a war was fought for their possession, namely, the Saltpeter War of 1879-1883. The end of this conflict between Peru and Bolivia on the one hand and Chile on the other gave Chile, who had been victorious, the entire Peruvian and Bolivian territory involved.

UNTAXED OPULENCE

After taking over the territories formerly belonging to Peru and Bolivia, Chile was faced by two alternatives: either to retain the state monopoly which had been introduced by the Peruvian Government in the former Peruvian districts and perhaps even extend it to the old Chilean districts; or to continue the policy of free private enterprise she had hitherto pursued. It was decided to leave the field open for the foundation of private companies, and at the same time to impose a fixed tax in the form of an export duty at twenty-eight pence per Spanish hundredweight (50.6 lbs.).

Constantly increasing millions flowed into the Chilean state coffers from these duties. For many years the entire budget could be covered from the income of this industry, so that the Chilean could long consider himself lucky not to have to pay any taxes.

The profits were so great that, apart from the government, the individual capitalists also had large incomes. However, it was pleasanter to live in Paris or London than in primitive Chile. The riches so quickly acquired were usually spent just as quickly again abroad or through the importation of foreign luxury goods. As a result of this ceaseless flight of capital, the state treasury was unable to maintain a stable currency, in spite of

the favorable industrial development. The consequence was a constant devaluation of the Chilean currency, which no financial measure, however clever, has been able to stop to this day. There seemed to be no enduring luck for Chile in her *salitre*.

THE BRITISH LION'S SHARE

The Government's policy of economic freedom soon resulted in a wave of new enterprises being started, in which, besides Chile, the capital of a number of European countries had a share. British speculators made vast fortunes. The London Stock Exchange was in a fever over the founding of numerous new saltpeter companies, which had reached the imposing figure of fifteen by 1889. In this way the English acquired the main influence in this industry, and they managed to retain it during the following forty years. The control over yet another important raw material was in British hands, and Chile's national treasure was at the mercy of London's international stock exchange. However, the British were not alone. German, Italian, Spanish, and Dalmatian firms with capitals of millions undertook the erection of new *oficinas*, and through them there also came members of those nations in constantly increasing numbers to take up leading positions in the new enterprises.

OVERPRODUCTION AND SYNDICATES

The run that now began soon resulted in overproduction, which was followed by its well-known accompanying phenomena: insufficient sales, unsold products filling the warehouses, and falling prices. Attempts were made to come to an understanding, and a syndicate was formed that was to limit and allot the production. This was the first *Combinacion Salitrera* (Saltpeter Syndicate), formed in 1884, which, through the allotment of quotas, succeeded in reducing exports and forcing the price up again. However, the stocks stored in Europe were too large for the high price to be maintained. Hence attempts were also made to bring this market under control. "The Permanent Nitrate Committee" was

founded in London, which undertook a large-scale propaganda campaign for the use of saltpeter in all agricultural countries and thereby soon succeeded in doubling sales. Later on this Committee moved to Iquique. The cost of the campaign was borne by all the saltpeter companies in proportion to their production capacity.

However, the *Combinacion* had been formed for a period of a few years only. The free sales and unlimited production following thereon brought down the price of saltpeter to an impossible level again, for the very same reasons which had led to the formation of the first *Combinacion*. This situation led the *salitreros* to combine again in a second *Combinacion*, again limited to three years.

An almost fixed succession of developments had now come into being which constantly repeated itself. Uncontrolled production led to a decline in the price, whereupon the *salitreros* formed a *combinacion* for the purpose of achieving better prices. The *combinacion* limited production through the allotment of quotas, and the price gradually rose again. Then the *combinacion* came to its end. Production rose, the price fell, and the game started all over again. By 1906 this vicious circle had been completed five times.

WHENCE LABOR?

Meanwhile the appearance of the industry had changed tremendously. Increasingly bigger and more modern factories replaced the small and medium-sized plants. New processes made it possible to work raw material with twenty

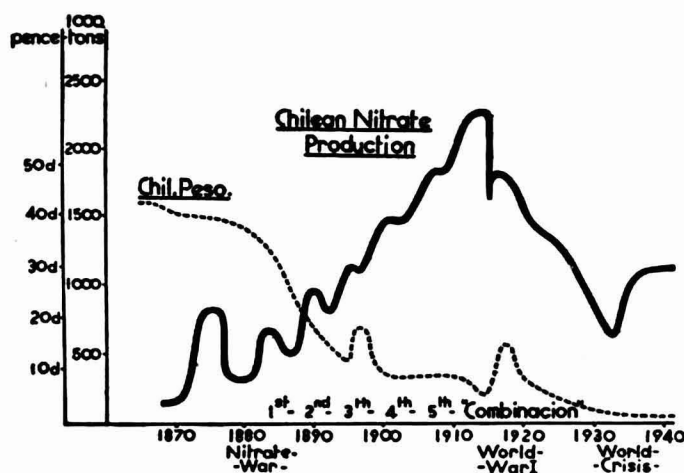
per cent and less mineral content. New probes were made and large, hitherto untouched reaches of pampa drawn within the scope of the large *oficinas* with their hundreds, sometimes over a thousand workers.

This brings us to one of the most burning problems of this industry, that of labor. During the early beginnings of the saltpeter industry in the last century, the supply of labor coming from Chile, Bolivia, and Peru without any special inducement was ample to fill all demands. At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, when so many new *oficinas* were established, a notice-

able shortage of labor set in. The demands made on the laborers were not small. The great heat and dryness, the considerable height above sea level, the extreme changes in temperature between day and night in the pampas,

and the other hardships imposed by this desert country called for tough and energetic human material.

Owing to the new border demarcation after the Saltpeter War, the Peruvians and Bolivians gradually moved away. They were replaced by Chileans. By making large promises it was at first possible to draw away miners from the neighboring southern Chilean provinces of Atacama and Coquimbo. But the supply of men from those districts was soon exhausted. Experiences made with agricultural workers from central Chile proved disappointing. The high wages paid them soon disappeared in drink and extravagance, and many of these men wandered back again or looked for easier work elsewhere.



FREE CIGARETTES

At one time laborers were employed in the South to work for a certain period for the *salitreras*. Their return trip and even their cigarettes were paid for, and at the end of the period they were sent back to their homes. This system entailed a great deal of unrest and caused friction between the various companies, so that it was soon dropped again and a certain permanency among the laborers was aimed at. Some of the *salitreros* tried to hold their laborers by establishing workers' homes, casinos, and other social amenities. Others, however, did not bother with such things. As a result, labor organizations were formed which began to insist upon their rights and gradually took on a socialist and communist coloring.

The organized workers insisted on participation in the profits, wages to be paid on a gold basis, and a reform of the sales in the shops attached to the factories. The growing discontent led to numerous strikes. In 1907 and 1908 there were severe disturbances in Iquique, where the workers of the surrounding *oficinas* had assembled by the thousand. Troops were sent from Santiago, and there were many casualties.

After the Great War, when communism gained an increasingly strong footing, there were again severe disturbances in the district of the Pampa Central. The entire office staff of the *oficina* San Gregorio was murdered by the stirred up mob of workers. The owners drew a lesson from these tragic events and from then on did more to look after their laborers. The State also took a hand. It introduced the most advanced social laws of all South American countries, and, as a result, the peace has hardly been disturbed again to this day.

VISIT TO AN "OFICINA"

When one drives today through the endless pampa on roads that are usually as straight as an arrow and consist of two asphalt tracks in the sand of the desert, and approaches a modern *oficina*,

one is struck from afar by the neat white houses of the employees. The houses are furnished with all the modern comforts that North America can supply. The slightly simpler houses for workers' families and the barrack-like accommodation for unmarried workers are very little inferior to the employees' houses. They need no protection against rain or storm, only against the pitiless sun and the biting cold of the night. Corrugated iron is the main building material, but a cheerful coat of paint often gives the buildings a pleasant appearance, in spite of the ugly material. One feels quite touched by the pathetic little gardens which many of the people have raised in the sandy desert. A few flowers, a hardy shrub, and a little palm tree are the carefully nursed treasures, which may remind their owner that somewhere else in the world there are green forests and luscious meadows.

The casinos, with their card rooms, reading rooms, and social halls, are very much like the better-class hotels of our summer resorts. So it is possible to live quite decently in these factory plants if one overlooks the desolate scenery around one. Those plants run on foreign capital still have a large number of foreign employees who draw comparatively high salaries, even though the latter have shrunk quite a bit from the former heyday of the *salitre*.

The factories themselves are bare, corrugated iron sheds in which only a few men work. The majority are employed in the surrounding pampa, probing, blasting, and transporting the *caliche*, which often has to be brought over miles of narrow-gauge track, since the position of the *oficina* is not decided solely by the nitrate deposit but also by the presence of sufficient water. Subterranean waterways can be found quite frequently. It is only a question of locating them, which requires much experience.

In view of the great physical demands made on the laborers, wages are high in comparison to the rest of Chile. Women are not equal to these conditions and hence not suited as workers in the *salit-*

treras. A strict prohibition of alcohol prevents the wages being wasted senselessly, and so many a man, after hard years in the pampa, can take a tidy sum in savings back with him to the South. But many do not find their way back, recklessly spend their savings on their holiday trips, and finally end up as those strange, cheerful *pamperos* who cannot give up the desert, just as many sailors cannot give up the eternal sameness of sky and water.

SCIENCE BREAKS THE MONOPOLY

The Great War formed the decisive turning point in the history of saltpeter. The Golden Age of the industry was during the last few years before the outbreak of the war. It was a period of quiet prosperity. The world market had been conquered, and exports had grown to an undreamed-of extent. People still talk about the days when as many as twenty European sailing vessels filled the harbor of Iquique while waiting for their precious cargo of saltpeter. On their voyage there they often carried earth as ballast, and today one can walk through the beautiful park of Antofagasta with the curious knowledge that one is walking on European soil. The poor, sandy soil of this coastal strip would never have been able to produce so surprisingly rich a vegetation.

The outbreak of hostilities in 1914 and the ensuing uncertainty in world trade resulted in a general panic. Many *oficinas* closed down, thousands of workers were dismissed, prices crashed, and, within a few days, a flourishing industry collapsed as a result of the nervousness of its owners. As a consequence of the British blockade, Germany, the chief customer for saltpeter, who had till then bought approximately thirty per cent of the total production, was suddenly forced to drop out entirely. Although the Allies still depended on Chile saltpeter for the manufacture of their most important war material, i.e., powder and explosives, the production figures of 1914 were never reached again.

The worst thing for Chile was that the British blockade forced Germany to look for a substitute in her own country. German science managed to achieve the miracle. The inventors Bosch and Haber succeeded in producing ammonia—the basic material for the production of nitric acid—and nitrogen from air. In spite of her friendship for Chile, Germany could not, in her struggle, do anything but break Chile's saltpeter monopoly. This radically changed the market situation and even after the war the old times never returned.

SUSTAINED BY A BY-PRODUCT

The present existence of the Chilean saltpeter industry is based on the share allotted to it by the Saltpeter Syndicate of twenty-five per cent of the world's consumption. A large number of plants whose ruins bear witness in the pampa to the prosperity of 1914 have never been reopened. Chile is once again a poor country. The dream that lasted from 1879 to 1914 is over.

However, to the extent of its present production, Chile saltpeter will retain its importance for those countries that do not possess factories for the manufacture of nitrogen from air and are therefore dependent on the importation of saltpeter. And there is still that most important by-product of the manufacture of sodium nitrate from *caliche*, namely, rare iodine, which will, for a long time to come, justify the existence of the industry. As a matter of fact, ninety per cent of the world's supply of iodine is a by-product of the Chilean nitrate *oficinas*.

CHILEANS STILL HAVE FUN

I left this strange corner of the world with its dramatic history in the same way in which I came. The vast distances made it advisable to use the Chilean air line. This time the sun was behind us, and the pampa beneath us shone in entirely different colors from those we had seen on our way there. In Copiapo, the old gold-diggers' city which has also seen better days, I took the narrow-gauge railway to Santiago. We were covered

with thick layers of dust. The long journey soon encouraged the passengers to get friendly at cards and in conversation. The *pamperos* are jolly people, especially when they are on their way to the cool, green South and the world of wonders of a large city. There was much laughter over coarse jokes, and the dice box was shaken mightily in the little dining car to decide who was to pay for the drinks. During the day, seagulls accompanied the little train for hours as if it were a ship on the high seas. Now and again they snatched up titbits from the garbage thrown out of the dining car.

Groaning and grunting, the train crawled up the many mountain chains forming the east/west valley in northern Chile, only to wind its way down again into the next valley, tooting merrily.

During one of those slow ascents, two humorists took it into their heads to jump out and run along beside the puffing train for a short distance. The joke was repeated several times with the laughing applause of the onlookers in the train. Then the engine driver finally got angry over such mockery of his train: he opened the throttle wide, and the two pranksters were left behind on the track with long faces. They could atone for their high spirits by a march of about twenty miles to the next little settlement.

Chile still has a sense of humor, and so the people find it easier to get over the hard times which repeat themselves more often in these South American countries, with their ceaseless ups and downs of good and bad days, than in other parts of the world.

PHOTO CONTEST

In response to requests from our more distant readers, we have decided to extend the closing date for our contest

"WOMEN OF EAST ASIA."

The new closing date for this \$600.00 contest will be September 15, 1942.

(For all further details see June issue of this magazine.)



By TS'AO PO-NING

Why love "in China"? Is not love a universal human feeling? Indeed, looking at our world from outside, say from Mars, love would appear very much the same all over the globe. But a closer look reveals that different national temperaments, different national customs and traditions, different national ideas about "what is done" have made very different things of that same natural sentiment we call love.

Nowhere in the world has the national character been molded so strongly by literary men as in China. Hence a very appropriate way of studying love in China is through her novels, particularly her classical novels, which, though seemingly out of date, still help to determine the life of the Chinese people.

The author is a professor of Chinese literature, formerly teaching in Mukden and now in Peking.—K.M.

THE kaleidoscope of love affairs as reflected in old Chinese novels was entirely different from the usual occurrence in the West. Occidentals had social intercourse between men and women directly and in public, whereas in China, until twenty or thirty years ago, it had to take place indirectly or in secrecy. Such formulas as embracing a girl's waist at a ball and shaking or kissing a woman's hand as an expression of friendship had never been allowed in our country before the revolution of 1911. This difference of custom painted the different picture of romance. This point I may illustrate by a comparison between two famous novels. First a few lines from Leo Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*:

He caught sight of Kitty, entering, and flew up to her with that peculiar, easy amble which is confined to directors of balls. Without even asking her if she cared to dance, he put out his arm to encircle her slender waist. She looked round for some one to give her fan to, and their hostess, smiling to her, took it.

"How nice you've come in good time," he said to her, embracing her waist; "such a bad habit to be late." Bending her left hand, she laid it on his shoulder, and her

little feet in their pink slippers began swiftly, lightly, and rhythmically moving over the slippery floor in time to the music.

And in comparison a quotation from Ts'ao Hsueh-chin's *Dream of the Red Chamber*:

Pao-yü realized that he had blundered again. His face was flushed with embarrassment. Tai-yü looked at him pityingly for a moment and then pointed her finger on his forehead and said "You" But she did not finish. She sighed and took her handkerchief to dry her tears. Pao-yü was again weeping. He made a motion to wipe his tears with his sleeve, as he did not have his handkerchief, but Tai-yü hastily gave him one of her own. Pao-yü took it and wiped his eyes with it. Then he drew nearer to Tai-yü and said, taking her hands, "You are breaking my heart with your tears. Let us all go to see Lao-t'ai-t'ai."

"Take away your hands," Tai-yü said. "Who wants to pull and pinch with you? You are growing older every day and should know better than that"

Lin Tai-yü and Chia Pao-yü were sweethearts and lovers for years, yet she did not allow him to take her hand; Yegorushka Korsunsky and Kitty were mere

friends, but he caressed her waist. How great the difference!

Too heavy were our traditional fetters laid upon the two sexes. Our lovers were forced to throw their whole energy on what we called "heart strength" (*hsin ch'in*). So the golden rule of "elegancy and allusion" for coquetry was especially developed in our country. Our novelists repeatedly told their readers that a seductive smile was quite enough for a girl to express all that she wanted to say or do, and gracefully suggestive actions were always more attractive than the words "I love you" uttered frankly. Whether or not this contains any truth need not be discussed here. I simply wish to point out that this was the attitude of our love-story writing, which ran continually from ancient times up to thirty years ago and represented the most original form and spirit of what was typically Chinese.

WAYS AND MEANS OF WOOING

To foreigners it seems a mystery that, as girls were strictly secluded from the outside in the inner chambers of the family, they could have found any opportunity to woo in privacy. This can be easily answered by citing a few examples from our novels.

In the spring we have a festival called Ch'ing Ming at which nearly all family members visit their family graveyards to burn paper offerings before the graves. Spring is the best time for all lovers. And it was this golden moment that the young hearts of old China made use of to meet each other. When a young and handsome scholar, plucking flowers or pulling willow branches on his way, chanced to meet, as told in the novels, a maiden of great beauty, he would try to exchange speechless messages by eye-brows and eyes. When the girl departed from the graveyard to ride home in a sedan chair, she would peep out to see whether the young man was following her. If he was falling in love with her, he would follow her for a long distance. Thus the love affair would begin to de-

velop, sometimes favorably, sometimes otherwise.



Moreover, we have a very mysterious place, the monastery, which is entirely different from a church. It is a place for offering sacrifice to a god or goddess; it is also a place for flirting. In it any one may rent rooms to dwell. And it is usual for scholars or rich men to hold banquets at famous temples. So naturally romance has an opportunity to fly in. *Hsi-Hsiang-chi* (Romance in the West Chamber, translated into German by Vincenz Hundhausen: *Das Westzimmer*, Peking and Leipzig, 1926), a drama derived from the novel *Hui-ch'en-chi*, written by the famous poet Yüan Chen of the T'ang Dynasty, may be taken here as representative of this type. The young scholar Chang Chün-jui happened to pay a visit to the famous monastery P'u-chiao-szu, where he was deeply enchanted by Ts'ui Ying-ying's enticing beauty. When he returned to his hotel, he was annoyed to find that wherever he looked he saw Ying-ying's charming face, and that whatever he heard seemed like her sweet voice. He could not sleep at night and found no taste in eating and drinking. Early next morning he went to the temple and took a room there. By chance he met Ying-ying's handmaid Hung-Niang and told her that he wanted to meet her mistress. As a matter of course, she refused him flatly. After consulting a monk, he found out that every night Ying-ying burnt incense in the garden of the temple. That very night, in the moonlight, he went to the garden, concealing himself behind a rock, and peeped out. As he had expected, she came. He then sang a poem to provoke her:

The night is mild and tender with moonlight;

The spring is lonely and melancholy
with the shadow of flowers.

Facing such a brightness of heaven,

Why can I not meet the fairy girls?

Ying-ying was surprised, but not frightened by his voice, for she was also falling in love with him. She softly chanted a poem in reply :

So lonely in my fragrant chamber,

I know not how to spend the lovely
spring.

How I do sympathize with him who is
sighing!

Chang Chun-ui was enraptured by this reply and decided to come forward to talk with her; but suddenly the gate of the garden was closed, and the two girls disappeared. He could do nothing now but murmur Ying-ying's poem to heaven. After many obstacles they met, and finally they departed in a most brokenhearted condition. From this brief narration one may obtain a general idea of the form of Chinese courtship.

Old-fashioned Chinese girls were restrained in everything; but once they dipped into love they would defy all moral codes and brave social censure. As portrayed in novels, our girls often, if not always, showed their admirable gallantry to such a degree that even men were no match for them. This was the reason, why, in their deep seclusion, they could find ways to communicate with their beloved and means to stimulate them. Nothing can stop love. When love sows seeds in one's mind, it plants at the same time the means to promote and accomplish it. Handkerchief, fan, maidservant, younger brother, flying a kite, playing the flute or *chin*, showing

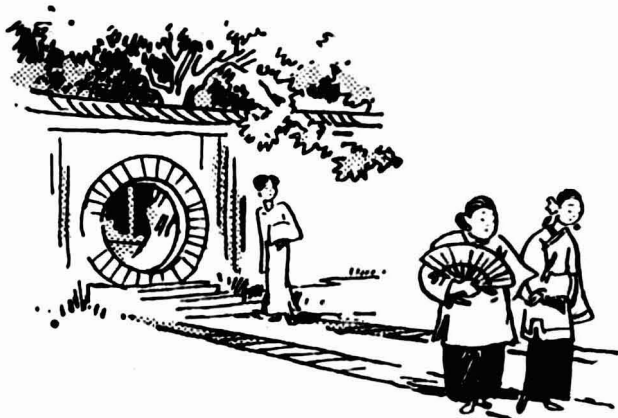
her small red shoes before the door or her face behind the window—all were utilized for flirtation. All this is vividly described by our novelists. Such love affairs were always full of unusual color and romance.

LOVE WITH HOBGOBLINS

There is another type of love represented in Chinese novels which differs from anything ever contained in Western writing—love with beauties who are nothing but disguised hobgoblins. According to Chinese tales, ghosts, foxes, dragons, serpents, and flower spirits could, after hundreds of years of concentration, acquire magic power enabling them to turn into fascinating maidens. This peculiarity may be traced as early as the fiction written in the T'ang Dynasty (618-906). Down to the Ching period (1644-1911), this subject was fully developed. *Yi-Yao-Chuan* (A Record of Faithful Hobgoblins) and *Liao-Chai-Chih-Yi* (Strange Stories from the Liao Studio, translated into

English by Herbert A. Giles, Shanghai, 1936, 4th edition) were the two most famous ones of this kind. As a rule, all these characters impersonated by nonhuman beings possessed hundred-per-cent human nature. Sometimes they were so elegantly portrayed that they were even more loyal in love and more lovely in daily conduct than real human beings. Let me cite *Yi-Yao-Chuan* as an example.

Once upon a time there were two serpents, one white and one blue. Both of them possessed the magic faculty of being able to turn into beautiful girls. At the Ch'ing Ming Festival they met handsome Hsü Hsien, an apprentice of a medicine shop, on the shore of the beauti-



ful West Lake at Hangchow. They gazed at him in a very seductive manner, and Hsü Hsien was at once smitten by their amorous beauty. Just at this moment it started to rain heavily. The two girls approached Hsü Hsien and asked him to allow them to ride in his hired boat across the lake. On the boat the white serpent told him her name was Pai Shu-Chen and that her maid was called Hsiao Ching. Later on Hsü Hsien married Pai Shu-Chen and lived happily beyond his imagination.

Meanwhile, his pretty wife had performed many miracles to make him wealthy. But at the Dragon Boat Festival she drank *hsiung-huang-chiu* (a kind of wine made of sulphuric ingredients) and became so drunk that she could no longer control herself. She revealed her original form, which frightened Hsü Hsien to death. As soon as Pai Shu-Chen came to herself again, she rode on a flying cloud to the K'un-Lung Mountain to steal the "Grass of Resurrection." This was very dangerous, because, if she were discovered by the heavenly spirits guarding it, she was certain to be killed by them. But danger could not stem her, and she succeeded in saving her husband's life with that strange grass.

Knowing now that his wife was a goblin, Hsü Hsien went to the temple of Chin-San Szu to consult the abbot Fa Hai about his supernatural wife. Fa Hai persuaded him to stay in the monastery and never to return to her again. Pai Shu-Chen was desperately in love with her husband, and a wound opened in her heart that would never heal unless he came back to her. She went to the monastery with Hsiao Ching to seek him; but they were defeated by Fa Hai after a fierce battle. Finally she was imprisoned in the Thunder Peak Pagoda on the shore of the West Lake.

So sad and somber a story is scarcely to be found in any other work

of fiction. And it is not strange that many readers shed tears for noble and lovable Madame Pai on reading her unfortunate experiences.

LOVE WITH COURTESANS

Consonant with China's *feng-ya* (cultivated and gentle) attitude toward life, the majority of Chinese love stories were tales of love between scholars and courtesans who could compose poems, handle musical instruments, or sing love ditties and lyrics from operas. Under the traditional Chinese system of marriage, many a man missed the chance to taste courtship and romance, so enticing to men of leisure, especially those of the richer class. The courtesan supplied this demand. We have two famous novels, *Hai Shang Hua Lieh-Chuan* (Biographies of Shanghai Courtesans) and *Chiu-Wei-Kuei* (Nine-Tailed Tortoise), describing how men had to court girls in singsong houses for months and spend hundreds or even thousands of dollars before they gained their real or feigned love.

Courtesans, as reflected in novels, had great variety of character. Among them were chaste lovers, talented cheaters, accomplished musicians, lewd harlots, and seductive singers. They varied in the color of their charm: stylish ornament, elegant chat, delicate action, and, above all, expert skill in exciting men's deep desire to flirt. More than that, the company of courtesans often inspired scholars to create love poems of longing, departure, sadness, and tears. As the idea of chastity was too deeply rooted in the hearts of respectable Chinese women, only courtesans, being much less restrained due to their profession, enjoyed freedom in doing everything that might be considered romantic.

But during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643) no official was allowed to frequent brothels. So when he gave a banquet he summoned young actors (most of them



female impersonators) to urge guests to drink (*yu chiu*). Down to the middle of the Ching Dynasty, young and beautiful actors encroached upon the place of singsong girls. In 1852 the novel *Pin-Hua Pao-Chien* (Annals of Actors in Peking) was published, which dealt exclusively with such love affairs. The author classified his characters into two groups: the cultivated and the vulgar. The most prominent members of the former group were scholars born in high official families, while the latter was composed of millionaires, merchants, and low officials. The difference was that the scholars courted bosom friends, whereas the others aimed only at libidinous pleasure. The enjoyment of sexually undeveloped love, as described in this novel, was an art depending much on one's mood and personality.



Reading *Pin-Hua Pao-Chien*, we can safely reach the conclusion that the Chinese ideal of love is pursuit of sentimental liberation rather than sensual satisfaction. All cultivated scholars, save a few, were praised. All vulgar fellows were scolded. The hero of this novel had by nature a poetically feeling heart. He approached the actors, and he was satisfied when they treated him as Lin Tai-yü, in our quotation from *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, had treated Chia Pao-yü—sometimes with fondness, sometimes with sweetness, but never with debauchery. Goethe once told Eckermann that in China sweethearts and lovers had so remarkable a self-control that they could pass the night in one room without physical contact. Indeed, this is the very point so often stressed by our novelists.

However, we must also regard the other side, the well-known novel *Chin-Ping-Mei*, which deals with fleshly love, wealth, and power, but not with knowledge or the soul. It is an eminently beautiful and splendid work of the Ming Dynasty, deserving one of the highest places among Chinese novels. In excellent Chinese and, for the most part, in excellent spirit, it vividly paints a true picture of individuals and the society of that time. Moreover, even in the description of physical love it clearly indicates the different personality of each character—never the same, never monotonous.

Nearly all characters of this novel sought gratification of sexual desire, not of love. If there was any love involved it was for physical beauty, not personality. Hsi-Men Ching and P'an Chin-lien both belonged to the vulgar class. What they could do best was to enrapture each other with lasciviousness. Loyalty or constancy could certainly not be found between them.

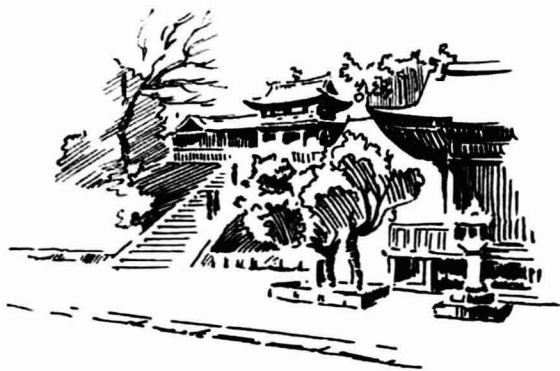
EPILOGUE

As to the attitude in writing love stories, our old novelists maintained that their effort was to form the minds of men to a high degree of virtue. They praised what was cultivated; they despised what was vulgar; they filled their works with the smiles of a grandmother for her grandson, with the tears of a chaste maiden longing for her departed lover. They valued what had been sublimated. Of course, all vulgar interests of mankind were also recorded, but they were recorded for readers to reflect, not in order to amuse.

That the conception toward love and the attitude toward love-story writing as reflected in our old novels have been greatly changed during recent years, we have little doubt. But we have as little doubt that, after the long tradition of thousands of years, there will still remain much that can only perish with the Chinese marriage system.



JAPAN'S NATIONAL HOLIDAYS



By DIETRICH SECKEL

All nations have holidays. But these are by no means the same the world over. Some nations put the emphasis on the religious, others on the political aspect, and others again on amusement. The stronger the peculiarity of a national character, the greater the difference between its state holidays and those of other nations. Familiarity with a nation's holidays contributes to the understanding of the nation itself.

The nation which represents the greatest psychological riddle of the present time is Japan. Most people's ideas about her have been proved wrong during the last few months. Hence the question: what are the Japanese really like? The answer to this cannot be given in one article or one book. However, we believe that the following pages are a contribution to it.

Dr. Dietrich Seckel is a young German scholar living in Japan. The son of a professor of the University of Berlin, he studied at the same university. In 1936 Dr. Seckel became instructor at the Hiroshima Kotogakko and in 1939 at the Urawa Kotogakko and the Imperial University of Tokyo. All his time which is not given to teaching is devoted to research of his own, mainly in the field of Japanese art.
—K.M.

THE ideals and values forming the basis of national life are revealed in the objects and events of the people's most important celebrations. If we want to grasp the inner motive power of a nation taking an active part on the political stage we must look beyond the geographical, political, military, and economic sphere to see what lies behind it all and finds expression in these spheres.

In Germany it is the ideas of nation, Reich, Führer, national work, and heroism which are made the objects of the national holidays. In Japan the underlying ideas are similar, yet in a different, very peculiar way such as is found in no other nation in the world. That is why the Japanese so often say, when the similarity between theirs and the German fundamental attitude is stressed: "Superficially it may seem so, but essentially we are different—indeed, incomparable and unique." The example of Japanese official national holidays may show that this proud conviction is not entirely

unjustified if it issues from a genuine depth of feeling and not from propagandistic chauvinism.

EVERYBODY'S BIRTHDAY

Two of the four major Japanese national holidays fall right at the beginning of the year: the New Year festival and the day commemorating the founding of the Empire, February 11. Both are closely connected in their significance. Empire Founding Day (*Kigen-setsu*, 紀元節) commemorates the day on which 2,602 years ago—660 B.C.—the first Emperor, Jimmu, is supposed to have ascended the throne and laid the foundations of the Empire. At the spot south of Nara, in the heart of Japan, where his palace probably stood and where his grave-mound lies in the midst of a forest, there now stands a great Shinto Shrine, Kashiwara-Jingu (宮神原橿), visited by countless reverent pilgrims, one of the most important national sanctuaries of Japan. The building is quite new, but erected in.

the old traditional style of Shinto architecture. As is so often the case in Japan, here, too, the new is at the same time ancient, for it is eternal and has been handed down in unbroken tradition.

As the Emperor Jimmu is, for the Japanese, a direct descendant in the fifth generation of the sun goddess, the founding of the Empire—carried out at the order of the goddess—is closely bound up with her, the ancestress of the Imperial House and thus the real national deity. And so the New Year festival has for the Japanese a very deep significance for the national cult, in contrast to Europe where it is simply the beginning of a new year and has lost all original religious meaning.

The special place taken by the New Year festival is also expressed by the fact that it is regarded as the birthday of every Japanese. Each one of them becomes a year older on January 1. The actual birthday is of very minor importance, so much so that, except in the case of children, hardly any notice is taken of it, sometimes not even in the most intimate family circles. This may, of course, be also partly accounted for by the lesser importance of the individual personality.

IMPERIAL CEREMONIES

The New Year holidays, which take up a whole week, were until most recent times the only ones which were real holidays in the sense that all work stopped. To some extent, especially in the traditional occupations, this is still the case today. The Sunday is, after all, a very modern and by no means generally accepted idea. From time immemorial the Japanese have celebrated the New Year with the greatest enthusiasm and prolonged festivals characterized by innumerable strange customs. Today, in war time, all this has been considerably curtailed. But it would be nice to see the old holiday customs revived in happier days in all their colorful vitality; with the innate pleasure the Japanese people take in festivals this may be expected more or less with certainty.

The official ceremony of January 1 is called *Shihohai* (四方拜) in Japanese,

which means "worship of the four points of the compass." It is performed in the early hours of the morning by the Emperor himself in his capacity of high priest of the national cult in the sanctuary of the Imperial Palace. By worshipping the four cardinal points he links up the Empire with the great forces ruling the universe and in this way prays for the prosperity of the Empire and the people.

A second New Year ceremony takes place on January 3, when the Emperor makes sacrifices in three sanctuaries within the Imperial Palace: in the *Kashikodokoro* (賢所), the "place of reverent awe," where a copy of the sacred Sun-Mirror is venerated; then in the *Koreiden* (皇靈殿), the sanctuary of the Imperial ancestors; and in the *Shinden* (神殿), the shrine of the gods. These rites are first mentioned in history as having taken place in 590, so that actually they are probably considerably older. Hence they too have a very old and unbroken tradition, as have so many other things in Japan.

EMPEROR-DEITY

The two other major national holidays are the birthday of the present Emperor on April 29 and the memorial day of Emperor Meiji, the founder of modern Japan, on November 3. This emperor, doubtless one of the greatest figures in all history, is venerated today more than ever as the sacred genius of the new Empire (as we might put it), to whom it owes everything. For according to the Japanese ideas even the greatest deeds of its subjects flow from the source of the sublime power and sacred virtue (*seitoku*, 聖徳) of the Emperor, who, as the descendant of the sun goddess, is regarded as a manifestation of the deity in human form (*arahito-gami*, 現人神). Thus this veneration of the Emperor is fundamentally different from anything of the kind we know in Europe. One of the reasons why the Emperor Meiji has so great a hold upon the hearts of the Japanese is that his Rescript on Education, delivered in 1890, forms the spiritual basis of the entire moral and national training of the people. "Rescript" is really too legal a word; it is actually a solemn ex-

hortation, filled with high ideals and couched in beautifully stylized language, to achieve the purest possible moral attitude and the greatest material accomplishments as well as to sacrifice oneself unreservedly for the Empire. Every Japanese knows the Rescript by heart, like every Christian the Lord's Prayer, for to him they are sacred words.

SCHOOLS CELEBRATE

How, then, is one of these great national holidays celebrated? Let us consider, for example, the schools. There a ceremony takes place which, by its simple dignity, leaves a deep impression on anyone who has once attended it. Teachers and pupils assemble, and the principal is greeted by all with a bow. Then the portraits of the Emperor and Empress hanging on the wall behind the dais are unveiled and honored by a deep, ceremonious bow of unusual length.

These pictures are the most precious treasures of every school, and many a teacher has risked his life to save them in a fire. Now the national anthem, "*Kimigayo*," is sung. It never fails to move us with its strange, austere power, its simplicity, its greatness, and yet its contemplative tenderness, especially when it issues from the throats of several hundred devout children.

After this the Imperial portraits are slowly veiled again, and the principal reads out the Rescript on Education of the Emperor Meiji and, lately, another Rescript of the present Emperor addressed to schoolchildren and students. He reads them from scrolls he has reverently taken out of their silk covers and recites the words, sometimes in a kind of liturgical chant, something like a Catholic priest reciting the sacred words of the mass. He may then add a short address; however, this is usually omitted. And the very fact that no attempt is made to hold a rousing patriotic speech of, after all, usually rather mediocre composition, renders such a ceremony—lasting at most ten minutes—all the more dignified and solemn. It is the portrait and the words

of the Emperor and the national anthem which permeate the entire ceremony and give it a depth of religious national feeling that goes far beyond either the purely national, ethical, or intellectual plane.

THE MINOR HOLIDAYS

Beside the four major national holidays there are a number of others. First comes the birthday of the Empress on March 6; then, on April 3, the commemoration of the death of the first Emperor Jimmu; and finally December 25, commemorating the death of the Emperor Taisho, the father of the present Emperor. That these two latter days are so important shows how the unbroken line of rulers of the Imperial House, that is to say, the real center of national existence reaching from primeval times down to the present day, appears in the national consciousness of the Japanese people as one identical unity. It is a further proof that even that which is most ancient is still a living part of the present and not something that has sunk into gray oblivion, never to return.

In connection with the idea of Emperor and Empire and with the worship of the deities, there are two other important days of great devotional significance for the nation: on the occasion of the Spring and Autumn Equinox, on March 23 and September 23, there are ceremonies at which the Emperor makes sacrifices to his ancestors, renders account to them, and prays for their blessing. For, according to Oriental conception, the ancestors with their omnipresent deified forces still influence our lives. It would lead too far to discuss here how much of these customs is common to all of Asia and how much is purely Japanese. At any rate, these two ceremonies—*Shunki-Koreisai* (春季皇霊祭), i.e., the Spring Ancestral Festival, and *Shuki-Koreisai* (秋季皇霊祭), i.e., the Autumn Ancestral Festival—again place the present Empire in a mysterious, blessed relationship with the ancestors through the sacred person of the Emperor in his capacity of priest.

THANKSGIVING DAYS

On the last two national holidays, which correspond more or less to the Harvest Festival or Thanksgiving Day of the West, the Emperor and people appear in reverent gratitude before the deities who reveal themselves in Nature. One of these holidays is the *Kannamesai* (神嘗祭) on October 17, when the gods are offered new rice and new rice wine (*sake*) in the supreme national sanctuary, the shrine of the sun goddess in Ise, as well as in the Imperial Palace. This rice is grown in fields somewhere in Japan which have been consecrated for this purpose in elaborate rites. It is the highest possible honor for a farmer to be allowed to grow the sacred rice. A similar ceremony takes place on the occasion of the second harvest festival, the *Niinamesai* (新嘗祭) on November 23, when the Emperor offers up the new harvest to his ancestors and partakes of it himself.

All these festivals take place in the impenetrable seclusion of the palace or of the shrine of the sun goddess as well as in other shrines, and not in the form of a gay public holiday for the masses, as in the West. This does not mean that their significance for the people is any less important; but it is characteristic of the nation that the keynote of the Japanese national holidays is their solemn quietness.

MORE MYTHICAL THAN POLITICAL

There are many other respects in which the Japanese national festivals differ from the Western. What strikes one most is the lack of days commemorating great historical events; at any rate they are not kept as official national holidays. Even the founding of the Empire is, after all, considered in Japan as an event of a mythical, quasi-religious rather than a historical or political nature. Everything is centered in the Imperial House and its ancestors (among whom are counted the deities), so that all holidays are rites of the national cult, but not religious feasts in the sense of the Buddhist festivals in Asia or the Christian ones

in Europe. Nor do they have a purely political or historical character. For all political and historical events, in the ordinary sense of the words—however decisive they may be—are considered secondary to that in which they all have their sources: the innate sacred power of the Emperor and the deities.

It is in this plunging into more profound depths that a great part of Japan's belief in her special mission is founded. The Japanese do not consider themselves as one nation among many, living in a common political and historical sphere, but as *the* nation, deeper and more all-embracing than any other nation, whose political and historical reality and achievements derive from an entirely different sphere that reaches beyond the purely national or political into the divine cosmos. It is this sphere that is personified by the Emperor, and through his innate divine power it is to radiate over the whole world and unite the peoples "under one roof" (*hakko ichi-u*, 八紘一宇).

Hence it is not the day of the Meiji Restoration of 1868, a political event of the utmost importance, but the Emperor Meiji who is commemorated. And he is not honored simply as a historical hero, as a "personality" or "genius" in our secular and human sense, but as a mythical figure, as the revelation of the divine powers that have ruled Japan since the beginning of time and whose representative descendant is always the ruling Emperor. His person changes, but the divine visibly apparent in him remains always the same, the unchanging in all change. This is what is worshiped as the mysterious and at the same time manifest center of the Empire and people, from which all life and all great deeds issue. And this is also the profound meaning of the national holidays.

DEIFIED WARRIORS

But let us not forget the day which, during the last few years, has usually been celebrated twice a year. Although it is not one of the official national holidays, it ranks with them: the Heroes'

Memorial Day, as it might be called. However, in Japan, it does not only mean a devout and grateful "remembrance" but something spiritually much deeper. The soldier who has given his life with unusual heroism for the Emperor—the Japanese do not say "for his country" but "for the Emperor"—has now become *kami* (神), a divine being entitled to veneration by family and nation (in Japanese, *gun-shin*, 軍神, "deified warrior"). These divine spirits are received in a solemn ceremony into the sanctuary of the war dead, the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo. Then the Emperor himself proceeds to the Shrine and honors the new *kami* by prayer and sacrifice, while the many thousands of relatives, invited from all parts of the Empire, remain deeply moved in a silent bow.

This is not homage paid by one human to another or by the representative of the nation to the fallen compatriots as in the West, such as when a king honors the war dead. Rather does the Emperor as the incarnate deity look up in awe to the spirits of the fallen, who before, not only as his subjects but as ordinary human beings, stood far below him. And to be raised by the sacrifice of his life to the state of *kami*, to whom the divine Emperor himself pays homage, is the highest pinnacle which can be reached by a mortal Japanese. This is one of the deeper spiritual reasons for the unparalleled heroism of the Japanese

soldier which cannot be explained solely with the idea of *bushido*.

THE EIGHTH OF THE MONTH

Since the outbreak of the Pacific war there is a new day of commemoration which is marked only by a very simple, short ceremony before the normal day's work begins, and on which the people refrain from all amusements: the eighth of every month, the day when war was declared last December. And here, too, the Japanese do not remember the actual historical event of this declaration of war but the granting of an Imperial Rescript to the nation and the world, that is, the almost religious proclamation of sacred words which show the way for the struggle and which give the strength to endure.

The ceremonies which unite the whole nation on this day culminate in the reading of this Rescript. And when during these ceremonies throughout Japan and overseas, wherever Japanese are living, in every school, factory, and office, the gathering turns toward the Imperial palace in Tokyo to pay homage to the Emperor by a silent bow from afar, and when after that, the "*Kimigayo*" rings out, striking the listener's heart—then even the foreigner feels the uniting faith, the divine breath and lifestream which in moments like this pulsate through the entire nation as through a single body, giving it strength, energy, and inspiration for all its deeds and all its heavy duties.



THE MARCH OF WAR IN GREATER EAST ASIA

During the past few months, the Japanese forces in China have been operating in many areas, the most important of which are shown in our map. Some of these operations were aimed chiefly at the annihilation of isolated Chungking divisions, guerrilla bands, and Communist remnants, which were a potential threat to Japanese lines of communication. Nevertheless, in certain areas fairly large forces were involved, especially along the Peking-Hankow Railway, in the Honan/Shansi/Hopei border region, and, further north, on the Hopei/Chahar border.

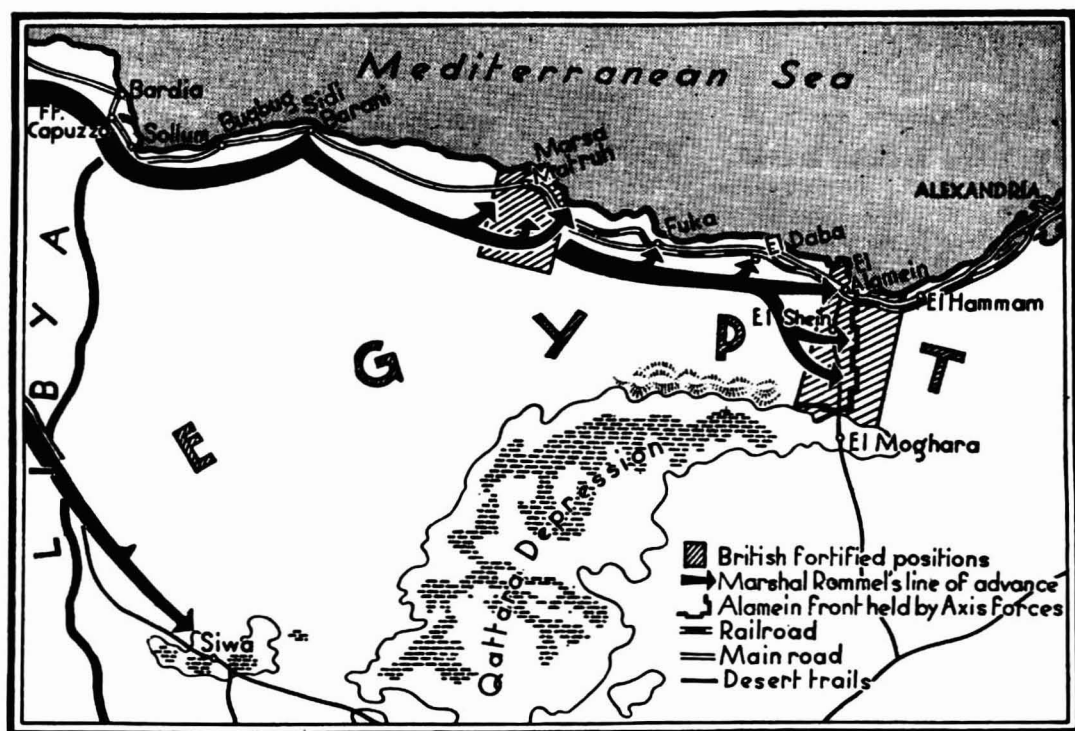
The operations in Chekiang and Kiangsi were of great strategical importance (see "The March of War" in our July issue). The vital railway line from Hangchow to

Nanchang was brought completely under Japanese control, when two columns, advancing from the east and the west, joined hands on July 1 in Hengfeng. The Japanese successes in this area were further extended when, after a southward drive, Wenchow was captured on July 11 in simultaneous action from the sea and from the land. These operations did not only cut the last possible supply line from the China coast to Chungking, but also led to the capture of all potential air bases which the Allies might have been able to use against Japan. Lieut. Colonel Hikozone Yokoyama, the Japanese Army spokesman in Shanghai, mentioned Chuchow especially as an air base that had been intensively developed by Chungking.



We have dealt with the operations along the Burma front in our July issue. The Chinese territory west of the Salween River is now under Japanese control, whereby the extreme left flank of the Japanese front against Chungking appears to be well protected.

Another important war zone is that in the Ordos district, where the Japanese have pushed forward in a southerly and southwesterly direction in order to cut the Mongolian supply line to Chungking.



THE MARCH OF WAR IN GREATER EUROPE

After their sweeping advance across Cyrenaica, Marshal Rommel's forces crossed the Egyptian frontier on June 23. The British withdrew rapidly, evidently hoping to find time for a new stand while Rommel was forced to pause. But they were given no respite. After the occupation of Sollum, Bugbug, and Sidi Barani (see "The March of War" in our July issue), Axis columns penetrated the strong British positions around Marsa Matruh. Cutting off the garrison, they stormed the place on June 29, taking 1,000 prisoners. Without pausing for rest, they advanced via Fuka and El Daba. El Alamein was captured after heavy fighting on July 1. Thus an inroad was made into the deep British defense system stretching from the coast to the Qattara Depression. The capture of other positions further south in the British line followed.

Having gained a foothold in this strategically favorable bottleneck, Marshal Rommel finally decided to consolidate his gains, repair his tanks, and bring up fresh reinforcements and supplies which can come by short convoy trips from Italy to Tobruk. The Axis troops were ordered to dig themselves in, holding a line running east of El Alamein from north to south, and then turning at right angles to the west, where it is flanked by the Qattara Depression.

Meanwhile, the British Commander in Chief in the Near East, General Sir Claude Auchinleck, had taken the place of General Ritchie. He threw all available reserves into the British line east of El Alamein, while further reinforcements were rushed

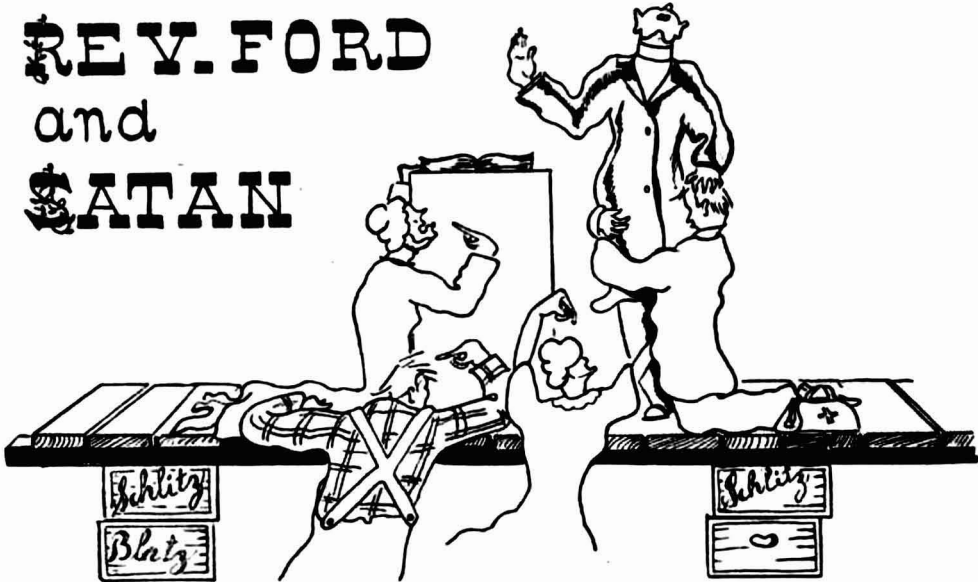
to Egypt from Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. Toward the end of July he had a slight numerical superiority on the Egyptian front. He made determined attempts to regain some of the positions taken by the Axis troops, but the latter were actually able to improve their position through counterattacks. This battle, continuing almost without interruption during the past few weeks, was characterized by violent artillery duels, tank attacks, and air raids on supply bases, troop concentrations, and moving columns. Between July 15 and 23 it cost the British 171 tanks.

In the meantime, the Giarabub and Siwa Oases were occupied by Italian troops, the latter on July 20. This exposes the rear of the British troops to Axis attack.

The British position is precarious. Their 8th Army has been badly mauled, and the loss of some 75,000 men trained in desert warfare who have been captured by the Axis forces since the start of this campaign cannot easily be replaced. The troops now available are composed of heterogeneous elements, which comprise, among others, Spahis, Senegalese, de Gaulle's, Indians, Australians, New Zealanders, and South Africans. The exposure of Alexandria and the Suez Canal to Axis air raids is a serious threat to British supplies.

The success of the Italo-German forces is all the more striking inasmuch as, at the beginning of the offensive on May 26, the British had, according to Prime Minister Churchill, a numerical superiority in men of 10:9 and in guns of 8:5. Moreover, they claimed to have had the mastery in the air.

REV. FORD and SATAN



By HILAIRE DU BERRIER

When people speak of America, they usually think only of the great cities in the East or the fashionable resorts of California and Florida. Yet almost one half of the population of the United States lives in the rural communities of the "wide open spaces," where life is so different from that in New York or in Hollywood films that one might think it was another world.

Hilaire du Berrier is known to our readers as the author of several amusing articles in previous issues of our magazine. He grew up in a typical rural community of the Middle West. He loves to talk about it, with mocking irony, to be sure, but also, after a life of adventure abroad, with a certain amount of nostalgia. His article presents an intimate glimpse into the mentality of the Middle West and is a good example of American humorous prose.—K.M.



THE old-fashioned revival meeting was a great institution in the America I knew as a boy. When I close my eyes and think of the ugly, sprawling town I was born in, I sometimes wonder what people would have done if it had not been for an itinerant preacher who came around every fall, just after harvest time. He pitched his ragged tent in a little hollow down near the railway tracks and sold the farmers and village hicks an emotional jag every night for such chicken feed as he was able to coax out of them under the stress of excitement, via the old method of a pretty girl and a collection plate.

Life in that town was bare, bare, bare! You could not call it nude, for there is a certain beauty suggested by nudity.

There was no beauty there. Only a muddy stream south of the town, called Louse Creek, where the village males and such stray dogs as cared to follow them used to troop down after work for a swim.

Then, on their way back, they would stop at the station to wait for the train to come in. There was only one event of the day of any importance in that town: a branch-line train that went west in the evening to a station about forty miles down the line and came back the next morning. In our lives it filled a place comparable to that of freighters plying between lost islands. At the station the boys got on Tommy Thompson's dray wagon and rode up to the post office along with the mail.

Around 6.30 every day the whole town drifted into the post office to stand around

and chew the rag about Jesse Cottner's two-headed calf or old man Swingling's water melons. The mail boxes had combination locks on them, but the people in my town were simple folk, and remembering the number of the box was about their limit. They just left them unlocked, everyone standing where he could keep an eye on the two-inch square of glass on the door of his personal mail cubicle, ready to pounce on anything that slid in.

An ex-cowpuncher named Whitcomb was the postmaster, and from time to time an urchin got down on his knees and peered through the letter slot to see if he had finished distributing the first-class mail. If he had, that ended all hopes of drawing anything interesting on this deal. It was like a sort of poker game, and those with a good hand were considered correspondingly important. Newspapers and catalogues didn't count.

That was the extent of amusement in my town. The place was too small for a chautauqua, let alone a circus. They had a roundup once a year, at Wick's ranch up on Little Heart River; sometimes a couple of cowboys took up a collection and put on a prize fight, which they took turns winning; and on occasional Saturday nights there was a dance in a barn-like, tin-sided firetrap, known for some reason or other as "the Opera House."

The more profligate members of the community sometimes drove thirty miles to the County Fair, to watch a daredevil named "Lucky" Bob fly over town in an aeroplane, and came back with the roofs of their mouths sun-burned.

Once a year a wandering show troop led by an actor named Richard Kent blew into town for a three-day stay. Mr. Kent

had a Paderewski haircut and a stentorian voice and always a long line of admiring youngsters behind him. Most of his plays were written by himself between performances and were melodrama of the mellowest. One night was always a Swedish dialect opus named *Ole and His Sweetheart*, or *Ole, The Swede Detective*, or something like that, and another was invariably about the villain and the mortgage with Mr. Kent playing the villain.

When you had gone through these you had exhausted the place, if it were not for Reverend Ford, the preacher who came around every fall to lead his people out of Egypt. It was usually a neck-and-neck race between Mr. Kent and the preacher as to who would get there first, before the other got the pickings.

REVEREND Ford called himself a Holy Roller. On warm summer evenings, sitting on our front porch, you could see the glow of light from the door of his tent, while from under the flaps and through such rents and tears as he hadn't bothered to sew up during the day came music and a beckoning voice. The canvas was getting old and rotten, and every night some drunk or a hysterical convert went through it somewhere.

A warm glow seemed to emanate from that tent. It was the only spot of color and noise and life in our town at night, and it only came once a year. So, one by one, the scoffers and loafers and the faithful were drawn to it as by a magnet.

Those who couldn't get inside and grab a seat on the rough planking laid across wooden cases (originally designed to hold twelve bottles of near-beer) stood outside



under the stars; and around them the village dogs gathered and the children.

Loneliness was something everyone seemed to be running away from in that town, and when they went down to that tent, it was with the intimation that this was just one of the things they were willing to sink down to in order to escape from being lonely. Then, after they had got there, the singing and shouting and all the hallelujahs seemed to get them.

Up on our porch we could hear them, off key and noodeling their words, but loud as an army: "Jesus will do wha-tchew want him to! Jesus will do wha-tchew want him to!"

Kelly Wright, a bearded old wife-beater, would be rolling all over the planking at the feet of the preacher, calling on God to forgive him for the black eye he had given his poor wife Mary. Kelly got religion once a year, and socked Mary in the eye about once a week. And Maes Mullens, the cow-hand Kelly had prodded on with a shotgun the day he married his daughter, would be there with him.

Everyone was brother and sister at revival meetings, and you should have heard them shout: an "amen" here and a "glory hallelujah" there, they roared the tent down. Hired girls got up and screamed to be heard while they told of the wicked lives they had led and begged to be forgiven. As I look back on them now, the things they made such a to-do about may have been embarrassing for a few hired men and husbands and once in a while a neighbor lad, but as sinners they were a naïve and harmless lot.

By the time the revival meetings were over, everyone in town knew what everyone else had been up to in the past eleven months. But no one held it against the

other (at least not until the preacher left town). Kelly Wright's wife, with one eye just reaching a light purple now, would appear in the new hat Kelly had bought her under the initial impact of repentance and generosity, a hat that invariably made her look more like England's Mary than Kelly's, and Kelly would be forgiven.

The people in that town weren't very good and they weren't very bad. But they were sincere, and their last week of revival meetings every year was bedlam. No staying on the front porch for that last week! No sir, I wouldn't have missed it for anything. There was such shouting and singing as you never heard in your life, and men and women kneeled

along the row of SCHLITZ, NEAR-BEER cases that supported the plank-ing of the pulpit.

An ex-veterinary who had done a year in prison for trying his hand, with fatal results, at illegal operations, would be sobbing his heart out and clasping the preacher around his legs, like the angel hugging the cross in that Sunday-school

picture called "Rock of Ages."

The section-boss from the railroad would be there, tobacco juice running down from one corner of his mouth and his breath smelling of moonshine, blubbering about sins and the evils of drink and gambling and dancing. He was always drunk, there wasn't any gambling, and he had probably never danced with anyone in his life; but he was ready to eschew all three of them if that made God happier. Dancing seemed to be a particularly heinous sin to Reverend Ford, and God an irritable and joyless old boss who frowned on that sort of nonsense during business hours, i.e., this mortal span.

After Reverend Ford left, it was always a month or two before the Swanson boys,



a couple of Swedes from out north of town who played the violin and the piano, could get enough of a crowd together to make a dance pay. Then gradually the town drifted back again and started storing up amateur and unsophisticated pleasures for another year's harvest.

ALL THE boys in that town had some sort of ambition as to what they wanted to do when they grew up, usually goals ranging from farming to being a baseball pitcher, which was considered "tops" in those days, ranking about two degrees above being President. The only thing I wanted to be when I grew up was absent, and the farther the better. What I wanted to do was to get on a train, and somehow that was what happened one day. I went away from that town and never went back.

But one day, years later, something happened that made the memory of it and of those revival meetings return and stab me with the sort of poignant pain always caused by disillusionment, particularly if it is a disillusionment that destroys something one has lugged like a satchel, through years and countries, all the way from one's youth and from one's own hills.

I had moved into a cheap, theatrical hotel on Clark Street in Chicago, intending to stay a week and staying ten. The hotel was owned by the district attorney, but a Jew, known as Harry, ran it. Harry had originally made his money in a combination gambling joint and co-educational center, and the transition into an innkeeper had been a gradual one. In fact, he still had not completed it.

Most of his old crowd had come with him, squeezing into the comparative respectability of a hotel-where-you-had-to-register like a bargain-sale mob into a lift. The boy at the switchboard had handled the racing returns in the old establishment, and when he said "Number?" you always had the feeling he expected you to say "No. 2 in the sixth" instead of "Cottage Grove 4197."

Then there was a pretty blonde named Trixie, who used to bring a roll of bills in every morning and give them to a Pole who only had one name as far as anyone around the hotel knew. They called him Bruno, and Bruno spent most of his time smoking opium and drinking Coca-Cola. He called it kicking the gong around.

Harry's guests and staff could think of more things to do with their time than a Chinese can with bamboo, and through it all Harry walked around, bored as a Hai-Alai player.

This is only to give you an idea of the world I stumbled into when I wandered into this hotel and rented a room. Within a week the boys had found out that I

wasn't a detective and had taken me into the fold. But unfortunately, it seems, I had just missed meeting the most interesting member of their colony.

While they sat around drinking the room-clerk's gin or home-made beer with half an inch of yeast in the bottom of the bottle, they kept talking about what a swell guy Pete was, and what a winter they would have when Pete came back. Here Bruno laconically informed me that Pete was in the "Christ racket."

That was a new one on me. The "Christ racket" had me stumped, so that



The Wedding of Maes Mullens

night I got hold of Ed Biang and asked him about it. Ed made his living selling lights guaranteed to give five times as much illumination with a smaller bulb. Incidentally, this business required a deft, sleight-of-hand, last-minute switch of bulbs that made the poor shopkeeper think he was running a streetcar instead of a lighting gadget when he got his light bill at the end of the month.

Ed explained that every year after harvest time Pete took his tent show on the road, did a two-months' tour, and then came back to Chicago for the winter.

"Oh, he's a great guy!" Ed went on. "Right now he is down at Pecatonica, about halfway between Rockford and Freeport, and rolling 'em in."

What it all boiled down to was that Pete was running a revival meeting to separate the yokels of Pecatonica from their harvest, a process of pocket-sifting which Pete blithely referred to as collecting his tithe.

We drove down to see him one Sunday, and, as we approached his tent, edging our way through a cluster of honest farmers about the open flap of the entrance, a magnificent, rolling voice could be heard from within, a voice like some great sea-wave that gathered force as it came along. It piled up and carried the ocean with it as it came, up, up, till you thought there could be no rolling back.

It came over the heads of people and out of the flap of that tent to meet us. There was all of kindness and pity and the holiness of man in

that voice. It called to you like Roland's horn at Roncevaux, and all that you asked it promised.

What it was saying didn't matter. For the sheer beauty of it you listened to the sound of words and not their meaning.

Bruno winked, "That's Pete for you!" He ran a kindly, tolerant glance over the multitude. Not contemptuous of hicks was Bruno. Everyone had his place in the great scheme of things: Pete needed men like these, and men like these needed Pete.

Inside the tent he pointed out a girl, a slender, painted blonde who had gone forward to tell her fellow sinners about the wicked life she had led before she got religion. In that mob, each trying to outdo the other in past wickedness, she had them all beat. She gave the whole story: music and wine and bright lights and red lights and such sin as the rest of that tent had only dreamed of and longed to find. And in the end she told them how one evening, thinking to have some fun baiting a preacher, she had come to the arms of a tent and been shown the light.

The farmers edged forward, straining to catch every word. What wouldn't they have given to have known her sooner! Through her they lived a thousand nights of sin, and with her they all repented together.

Sobbing, she sank to her knees. A voice rose from the crowd: "Hallelujah! Glory Halleluja! Amen!" The cry spread. It was my home town all over again.

Pete's reverent hand dropped tenderly on the per-



oxidized head at his knees, and Mary Magdalene's name came from his lips in a whisper that was louder than all shouting. Bruno said: "That's Peaches. She used to work in Harry's joint, on the South Side, till she hooked up with Pete. Queenie is still out in the crowd: Pete will give her her cue when he gets the crowd worked up high enough, and she will finish them off."

An awful disappointment crept over me for a moment, a kind of sickness one gets when beauty is stripped from any being or institution one has revered and guarded in the cubbyhole reserved for Youth's memories.

Then I shrugged my shoulders. Life was bare, bare, bare in my town! What if that itinerant preacher of ours had been only another Pete? He gave those people something to think of. As a good jag, to let off steam, he did not cost any more than moonshine. Kelly Wright was kind to his wife for a month or two after. Those honest, simple folk felt better when it was over. The effect was the same.

The people of Pecatonica could not have felt any better if Pete had been sincere. In fact, they probably would not have felt so well; for where, in an

honest man, could one ever find such artistry and such a voice?

There was a soft-drink stand a little way up the road, and Bruno stopped there to buy some ginger ale. He had brought a pocket flask along. The stand attendant, it turned out, was a trapeze artist who had been hurt doing his act without a net. After the accident his partner, a pickpocket who frisked the yokels while the aerial acrobat held their attention, left him in the lurch. So Pete had given the cripple the soft-drink concession at his revival meetings for nothing.

While we stood there waiting to be served, Bruno winked at me and jerked his thumb towards the small of the back of a farmer just ahead of him. There was a trace of tears in the lines of the rough skin beneath this farmer's eyes, and you could see his mind was far away. Like a sleepwalker he ordered a bottle of pop. The crippled acrobat, like a ministering monk, humbly asked: "What kind, brother?"

The farmer looked at his feet for a moment, apparently torn between spiritual thoughts and the illusive terms for classifying pop. Then, throat choked, he answered: "Red." That was all he could think of.

Bruno grinned and said: "Good old Pete!"



THE WEDDING FEAST

By MICHELE SAPONARO

We are continuing our series of short stories by authors of various nationalities with a story taken from a country that has a splendid tradition in the art of short-story writing, Italy.

The author was born some fifty years ago in the province of Apulia, which forms the "heel" of Italy. Although considered a very modern writer, he uses a clear and simple language reminiscent of the classical style of some of the best Italian authors of the last century. Most of his stories and characters are inspired by the people of Apulia.—K.M.

THE BIG table been had laid in the hall of the farmhouse. In days gone by this hall had been used for the harvest feast, but in lean times it had been abandoned to the storing of broken barrels, lopsided trestles, and other useless implements, till the good fortune of the new masters had caused it to be replastered and frescoed with village scenes.

It was the custom and tradition of the Casamassima family, on the eve of a wedding day, to gather all the relatives and close friends together at a feast.

Now they were waiting for the young bride, who had gone to her future grandmother to receive the customary blessing. And the bride was late in arriving.

Her delay caused no anxiety to the bridegroom, who walked up and down the long hall, from one side of the table to the other—not because he was impatient but because of his old habit of counting his steps. He had been a land-surveyor for so many years, and he had measured all the farms of the district better with his long legs than with a compass. Every ten or twelve paces he stopped, removed the spent cigar from his mouth and tapped it with his little finger, as if to shake off the ash which was not there.

He was sixty years old, and he had three young oak trees of sons aged thirty, twenty-five, and twenty-one. A widower for some time, he had decided to take a

wife again, because his sons had told him that a woman was essential to the home and one could not remain a widower at sixty. He had replied that being a widower did not bother him, and in any case what was needed at home was an elderly person, not that young girl they wanted to give him.

The youngest son had been the first to ask his father to remarry. Of the three, he was the poor shepherd, while the other two looked after the cattle, the granary, and the accounts. He had asked him with that innocent manner of his, and stood looking spellbound at the girl every time he went to call on her with his father. If the father was going to marry her, he would no longer have to walk so far and so often to look at her.

The other two had observed the expression on their younger brother's face and had caught each other's eyes in a furtive, sidelong glance, each betraying to the other his secret thoughts. It had been on an evening in July, among the sheaves ranked diagonally like the tents of a vast encampment. There was a low, reddish moon on the horizon, a disk with no halo of light, and a distant fire of stubble threw conflicting lights and shadows onto the scene of houses and dense vegetation.

They said nothing to one another, but they had followed up their brother's request: also from motives of personal interest, for they knew their wealthy old

grandmother was very fond of the girl, who was distantly related to her. The eldest son had been particularly imperious, and the father always obeyed his eldest son.

* * *

Now, while the father waited for the bride who did not appear, he was not impatient; but his sons were impatient in the extreme.

Pietro, who when arguing always said he wanted to break open someone's head; Pietro, who had once boasted of freeing himself from three assailants and, with a round of blows, sending them into a ditch to keep the frogs company; Pietro, who was renowned for having broken many a heart; Pietro the first-born was sitting with his legs apart in front of a pitcher of wine. From time to time, following his thoughts with a gesture, he raised his fist threateningly behind his father's shoulders.

Paolo, the second son, was sitting with his elbows planted on the table, moving only his eyes to follow the footsteps of his father back and forth, like a hypnotized cock following the line marked out for it under its beak.

Giovanni, the youngest, was standing on the threshold, casting his gaze yonder to the end of the path, his hands visor-like over his eyes. Then he turned round and said to the others, but in a low voice as if he were talking to himself:

"Grandmother, you know how she is, she is upset and won't let her come."

He added: "It is more than half a mile to here. Once I counted the paces—nine hundred of them. Tetti, with her little steps, will take at least ten minutes. Now she will be halfway, and in five minutes she will be here."

Once he said, giving a start of joy: "Perhaps Grandmother will come too?"

Their grandmother, who was almost ninety, could not move from the house: she had not even gone out the day their mother had died.

Then it occurred to all of them that they had not thought of their grand-

mother, that they could still have the feast at her home, and that, if she did not have a big room for the long table, they could divide up the banquet in all the rooms. The innkeeper, who had spent the night running between stoves and cooking-pots in order to cover himself with glory, dripping with sweat and utterly exhausted, stammered that they ought to have thought of that sooner, that now it was impossible to make over the program, that the dinner was already getting cold in the pots, that all his labor was being ruined. Really, it was an insult to him, such disorder.

"Why don't you go and fetch her in the cart?" he said, fuming and puffing in his rage, almost as if he would have put himself to the cart, like a colt anxious to break into a gallop.

The guests were beginning to arrive. The men, in stiff collars and their hair shiny with pomade, exchanged violent handshakes and then stood around bolt upright without knowing what to say to each other. The women looked for a mirror to tidy up, and in the mirror they exchanged mysterious signs, nodding and pursing their mouths as if they wanted to sew them up. They all contracted their nostrils as if to smell something which was not only the odor of roast or ragout. They sensed the air of a scandal about to break.

Then Pietro got up, putting aside the pitcher of wine which now seemed like poison to him:

"I am going to walk over there," he said, and went out.

"I'm going too," said Paolo the second son, wrenching himself out of his hypnotism, and followed his elder brother. It was the pact, and they would not be separated.

* * *

Their grandmother's house was situated at the end of a garden, almost hidden among the branches of a luxuriant vine. During the night it had rained a great deal, and the water outside the garden had collected into a broad puddle. They had to go a long way round, one behind

the other, to reach the lattice gate. From the gate to the house the path was firm, and on the path were to be seen only the marks of two wheels which had recently passed. The elder paid no attention to them: Paolo stared at them and tried to follow them with his eyes, but the traces disappeared in the stagnant water, and beyond the water it was impossible to distinguish them in the high grass of the field.

They went in. The entrance hall was empty, and from the room beyond, which seemed plunged in silence, came only a subdued stirring.

Before reaching the door and without seeing his grandmother, Pietro asked: "Where is Tetti?"

Their grandmother, bent toward the wall, put her hands down into a wooden chest which smelled of old, wormeaten wood and withered quinces. She did not turn round, nor did she reply.

"Grandmother," Pietro went on, "Tetti came here to pay her respects to you. Where has she gone?"

The old woman said in her little, threadbare voice, but without turning round:

"She did pay her respects to me, and I enjoyed seeing her. I gave her my blessing and my wedding gift."

"But you know where she has gone."

"Look for her."

Pietro swayed back and forth on his toes and heels, turning between his hands the gold chain that hung across his waistcoat. He was a giant, and standing straight in the opening of the door he seemed to fill it entirely, body and shadow.

"Father has sent us to look for her. Father is waiting for his bride."

Then the old woman turned round. She had a proud face which robbed the arrogant fellow of words. She was not a beautiful old woman, for long suffering and arthritis had shriveled and consumed her face, but she must certainly have been a beautiful young woman. And

now, when pride was imprinted on her witch-like face, it seemed to send forth a gleam of youth.

"Your father?" she said. "Your father has had his wife, and she was my daughter. He did not want this one, and you have thrust her upon him."

"She is a good girl. What have you against her?"

"Good, and honest, and beautiful. But your father did not want her. He had no need of her."

"The house has need of her. A house cannot exist without women."

Pietro was the only one to speak. Paolo stood at his shoulder, silent, but he seemed to be prompting him.

"You have need of her. Both of you have need of her. And you want to marry her to your father for your pleasure. One of you alone did not want to marry her, because there would have been blood spilled. And you will divide her between you as one divides a melon. You will eat at the same table. You have made a pact. But it is a pact of the Devil. And what will you get if you take the woman? You will not have the dowry, for that will belong to the husband."

"Father is the husband."

"But he has not married her yet."

Then the brothers came forward together, elbow to elbow.

"Grandmother, what do you mean? What are you planning?"

"What is this talk about the dowry?"

"And what has that to do with us, the dowry?"

The great hands of the giant, although they did not tremble, seemed to be afraid of approaching the old woman, and they continued to count the links of the gold chain across his waistcoat. The brother kept his hands deep in his trouser pockets. But the trembling hands of the old woman were not afraid, and her forefinger pointed first at one, then at the other of her grandsons.

"This talk, as you call it, is simply that Tetti has taken the dowry. Everything I had."

And she pointed to the empty chest.

"She is a thief!" roared the two grandsons with one voice.

"I gave it to her. Did I not have the right to give it to whoever I pleased? You are the sons of my daughter, and you will have the legitimate dowry; but my possessions I have given to Tetti . . . There is nothing left. I even gave her the fine linen too. That lovely fine linen that never wears out. I have given her everything. I said to her: 'Go far away. Here there are wolves who want to eat you. Here your life will be a torment, always in mortal sin. Your husband's sons will want your bed. And a bed for three is full of thorns. Blood will flow. Go far away. Hide. Go to a place of safety. Search for a safe house. Go to the Sisters; they will defend you till such time as a man comes along who will defend you himself. Find a husband of your own age, for it is not good to marry a man who could be your father.' This is what I said to her. And now that you know you can go back to your dinner."

Pietro felt that if he did not escape he would strangle the old woman: and he went out stamping like a mule. Paolo seemed meeker and more resigned, but the glances he cast where those of the wounded fox that will return when its wounds are healed. He followed his elder brother.

On the way they met Giovanni, who was coming to join them. They stepped aside to let him pass without speaking to him. But then, so as to seem cheerful, Pietro smiled and, turning, said:

"Go on, go on, so that that ugly old witch can tell you her secret."

And she did tell him. His grandmother was glad to see him, but she started with surprise, for she did not expect him so suddenly, as if by a miracle of the Lord's.

"Tetti is not here. Didn't your brothers tell you?"

"They didn't tell me, but I guessed as much. What has happened, Grandmother?"

"Are you sorry not to see her here?"

"It is as if you had taken the picture of the Madonna and turned it to the wall, just like that."

Then the old woman told Giovanni where she had sent Tetti. If he went by train, they would arrive together. He could still marry her, because with his father the Sacrament had not yet taken place. And weddings are for young people. But he must go far away, out of the district, they must take ship somewhere. Hawks have long claws . . .

Raising her head, she looked her grandson full in the eyes, almost threateningly, as if to instill in his heart her own ancient pride:

"But you are a hunter, and you will know how to defend your wife even against hawks."

THE WINDOW

UNCLE SAM MOBILIZES MANPOWER

UNEMPLOYMENT IN RETROSPECT

MARCH 1933 saw the peak of unemployment in the United States, with a total of 14.8 million people out of work. Since then, their number has—with the exception of 1938—steadily declined and was given as 8.5 millions in August 1940 in the official compilations of the National Industrial Conference Board and the American Federation of Labor. The trend, basing our figures up to 1940 on those of the *World Almanac* for 1941, was as shown in our chart below.

At the end of 1941, a low of about 3.5 millions (TO, Berne, 5.2.42, and Lisbon, 15.3.42) was reported, so that we may be justified in assuming that the annual average for 1941—bearing in mind the steady downward trend in 1940—was in the neighborhood of 5.5 millions.

Reasons for the decrease in unemployment figures can be attributed to increased production on behalf of the Defense and Lend-Lease Programs as well as a steadily growing demand for goods on the part of those consumers who were already engaged in making munitions of war. At the same time, after many years of unemployment, the majority of these new workers doubtless felt entitled

to a higher standard of living. 1940 and 1941 were boom years, with production and sales figures reaching new highs. The Office for Production Management tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to curb those industries which, in spite of a threatening raw-material shortage, continued to increase their output for civilian consumption. For the first time in twenty years, *Nation's Business* found itself able to announce that for August 1941 every section of the country had reported more activity than in any of the preceding years.

A NEW WAVE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Then came December 8, 1941, and immediately the War Production Office was vested with what were virtually dictatorial powers of management and control. The raw-material priority program of 1941 was relegated to the limbo of forgotten things and replaced by an outright allocation system. Hundreds of factories were compelled to close their gates; 44,000 automobile dealers, and with them fully half a million of their employees, found themselves bereft of a livelihood (Domei, Stockholm, 9.1.42), while more than 200,000 drivers were reported workless owing to WPO restrictions (TO, Lisbon, 12.5.42). On January 18, 1942, Reuter reported from Washington that altogether 4 million workers were expected to be temporarily jobless as a result of the shifting of various industries to war production. A more recent official announcement gave the number as over 6,000,000 (TO, Berne, 5.2.42). But apparently the number of workers securing employment under the armament program was almost as great. For, by the end of January 1942, the unemployment figure was 4,150,000 (TO, Lisbon, 15.3.42) and by June 1, 1942, it had declined to around the 3 million mark (TO, Stockholm).

In normal times, the combined figures of registered employed and listed unemployed represent the normally available "labor capacity."



This figure has steadily increased in the USA in recent years :

LABOR CAPACITY IN THE USA

| Year | Total of employed and unemployed as registered by the C.I.O. and A.F.L. (in millions) |
|---------------|---|
| 1930 | 48.9 |
| 1931 | 49.5 |
| 1932 | 50.1 |
| 1933 | 50.8 |
| 1934 | 51.3 |
| 1935 | 51.6 |
| 1936 | 52.2 |
| 1937 | 52.7 |
| 1938 | 53.3 |
| 1939 | 53.9 |
| 1940 (August) | 54.6 |

We are justified in assuming that the number of available workers, the "normal labor capacity," has continued to increase at least at the same rate as in former years and had thus reached the 56,000,000 mark by the end of 1941.

MEN WANTED !

At that time, war industries alone employed a total of 5,200,000 workers, but it was estimated that altogether 15 million would be necessary to carry out the projected armament program (Havas, Washington, 8.1.42). Such a prospect presaged virtual industrial chaos and necessitated the immediate creation of a special War Manpower Commission, under the chairmanship of Mr. Paul V. McNutt, to study, ascertain, and follow the best possible ways of mobilizing and exploiting human resources in the United States (Havas, Washington, 18.4.42, and Domei, Lisbon, 27.4.42). It should be noted, however, that, whereas the above-mentioned Havas despatch of January 8 indicated a shortage of only 10 million workers for the armament industries, Mr. McNutt, on April 20, estimated the number of new labor recruits for 1942 at 13 millions (Domei, Lisbon, 21.4.42).

As was to be expected, the unemployment problem now begins to be overshadowed by an acute shortage of employables—not only in the field of skilled but also in that of unskilled labor. In Alaska, for instance, lack of hands coupled with restricted means of transportation will reduce the salmon catch by more than 50 per cent this year. During 1942, railroad companies will have to employ an additional number of at least 320,000 men. All conscription, therefore, of railroad employees, as well as of coal miners and shipyard

workers has been canceled (*Time*, 18.5.42). In the Middle West a shortage of alarming proportions among farm laborers is feared, which will affect the reaping and harvesting of next season's crops (TO, Lisbon, 7.6.42), and it was asserted that California's farms would face ruin unless Americans called up for military service—and, incidentally, Japanese farmhands who had been interned—were replaced without delay. A total of 395,000 hands are said to be required between now and October (DNB, Madrid, 17.6.42). A sudden decline in the volume of fresh vegetables reaching local markets, accompanied in turn by rising prices, has already been reported (Domei, Buenos Aires, 21.6.42). In this connection a report is of interest regarding the rejection of an appropriation of \$75,000,000 for the continuation of the Voluntary Labor Service, popularly known as the CCC, one of the finest institutions in the country (TO, Stockholm, 7.6.42). This will mean the release of some 200,000 young men, who will be free to secure other employment.

ENTER MISS AMERICA

Official figures of gainfully employed women covering recent years are not available to us, but if these have increased in the same ratio as those of the total of gainfully employed persons, their number must approach the 11 million figure. The number of women employed in the manufacturing and mechanical industries at the end of 1941 can be roughly estimated at 2 millions. Out of this total, half a million were reported to be working in war industries in February 1942, but WPO sources predicted that this figure would exceed 2 millions by the end of the year (TO, Washington, 18.2.42).

Mr. Paul V. McNutt is reportedly convinced that by the end of 1943 at least 4 million women will be employed in war industries (TO, Stockholm, 27.5.42) and, overlooking no possibilities, Mr. McNutt has indicated that the females to be employed should be both attractive and good-looking in order to make the men work more industriously (TO, Stockholm, 27.5.42). The National Labor Supply Board, which was superseded by Mr. McNutt's War Manpower Commission, had already conducted an elaborate survey with the object of determining the particular jobs wherein women might effectively replace men (TO, Washington, 18.2.42). Using the statistics for 1930, we find the following approximate distribution of female labor :

FEMALE LABOR IN USA IN 1930 (in per cent)

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Agriculture | 8.5 |
| Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries.. | 17.5 |
| Transport and Communications | 2.6 |
| Trade | 9.0 |
| Public Service | 0.2 |
| Professional Service | 14.2 |
| Domestic and Personal Service | 29.5 |
| Clerical Occupations | 18.5 |
| | <hr/> 100.0 |

The above total of 100 per cent represented only 22 per cent of the total female population. Even if this latter figure has meanwhile risen to 25 or even 30 per cent, war industries should be able to draw a considerable number of female labor recruits from the remaining 70 to 75 per cent of women who are still entirely without remunerative employment. Moreover, a large percentage of those women engaged in domestic service (29.5 per cent) and the manufacturing and mechanical industries (17.5 per cent) will be available for armament jobs. It remains to be seen, however, whether the war industries will be able to secure the co-operation of an additional 3.5 million women, which is the figure to which Mr. McNutt aspires.

WOMEN IN UNIFORM

It should be remembered that Mr. McNutt is not alone in the race for assistance from the fair sex and has—although personally quite an Adonis—far more attractive competitors with jobs to offer which promise excitement, thrills, and adventure. Already the US Medical Service has called for a greater number of nurses than were required in the days of the first World War (Domei, Lisbon, 12.1.42) and on June 10, 1942, the US Red Cross announced in an appeal broadcast over a wide network that it is in urgent need of 55,000 more nurses (TO, Lisbon, 11.6.42). (The American Nurses' Association had 157,461 members in 1940.)

But first choice, undoubtedly, for every smart American woman and girl will be the WAAC, the "Women's Auxiliary Army Corps," which is to have natty uniforms with badges, stars, and stripes for those promoted to one of the four officers' and noncommissioned officers' ranks (TO, Lisbon, 28.5.42).

CONSCRIPTION

The absence of 25,000 or even 150,000 members of the WAAC, and of 50,000 to 100,000 nurses from war-production jobs appears negligible when compared with men,

a large proportion of whom are highly qualified, listed for conscription in the armed forces. The army enters the picture to demand the largest contingent of men, although the actual numbers said to be required vary according to different sources: on January 16, 1942, Secretary of War Stimson said that the army would be increased to 3,600,000 during 1942 (DNB, Panama, 16.1.42), and Mr. Sidney Hillman, co-director of the WPO, on January 15, 1942, was already hinting at a projected strength of 5 million (Reuter, Washington, 15.1.42). Meanwhile, John G. Winant, US Ambassador to London, announced in a luncheon address given there on January 28, 1942, that the establishment of an army of 7 million was being planned (TO, Stockholm, 29.1.42). The navy will call a million men for duty, all of whom must be sufficiently qualified to man modern warships, besides being able to handle complicated mechanical equipment.

A BALANCE SHEET

If the President's armaments program is carried out to the letter, the following major war-time contingents will have to be furnished out of the country's "normal labor capacity" of approximately 45 million men and 11 million women:

| | Men | Women |
|----------------|------------|-----------|
| Army and Navy | 8,000,000 | — |
| War Industries | 14,000,000 | 4,000,000 |
| Total | 22,000,000 | 4,000,000 |

It remains to be seen whether the United States will be able to keep its civilian machinery running with the remaining 23 million male and 7 million female workers, and to what extent the total labor capacity can be increased by mobilizing retired people, housewives, and students, in addition to those groups likely to lose their present jobs due to the closing down of non-essential industries and business enterprises. Undoubtedly, a full-sized industrial revolution is ahead.

SKILLED LABOR

Main concern of the war industries is the deficiency in the supply of skilled labor. Qualified workers are needed in an, as yet, unknown number of defense posts. Union labor has never been eager to increase the number of skilled workers; all the more so in an era when millions were unemployed. Whereas in 1930 the number of skilled work-

ers was given as 6 millions, Mr. Sidney Hillman gave it as only 5 million at the end of 1941 (Reuter, Washington, 15.1.42). So acute is the shortage of skilled labor that some branches of the armament industry have been compelled to slow down production (DNB, Lisbon, 23.4.42), and the War Manpower Commission had to decree the establishment of a labor priority system (TO, Lisbon, 21.4.42). A month later it was learned that measures had been taken by the War Department to render it impossible for armament workers to leave their present employment without a special permit from the Federal Labor Board. Thus an end was put to a procedure defined as "labor piracy," which was being exercised, particularly by the aircraft industries, to entice qualified workers from other companies by offering higher wages (DNB, Lisbon, 1.6.42). Does this spell the end of a free labor market?

The National Defense Mediation Board has been replaced by a 12-man National War Labor Board (Domei, Lisbon, 13.1.42), composed of representatives of the army and navy, the Administration, industry, and three members each from both the A.F.L. and C.I.O. The Board will mediate or arbitrate whenever labor disputes threaten the prosecution of the war effort, and will confer with the President periodically in the projection and planning of war production and the means of industrial mobilization (Reuter, Washington, 7.2.42, and Havas, Washington, 16.4.42).

FEWER STRIKES AND BETTER WORK

The time lost through strikes from February 7 to March 26, 1942, was given as "only one day per man in thirty years of work" by Mr. William Green, chairman of the A.F.L. (Reuter, Washington, 27.3.42). That would amount to one quarter of a day per man in a year, against a figure of two fifths in 1939.

A large-scale publicity and enlightenment program has been embarked upon in order to drive home to American workers the necessity for producing more, and to convince them of their importance in war production. A spirit of responsibility will thus,

it is hoped, be created among them. Factories with good production results will receive awards. Their workers will be given free trips to witness army maneuvers, where the arms produced by them will be demonstrated (TO, Lisbon, 26.2.42).

40 OR 48?

Between industrialists and Labor there is a wide divergence of opinion with regard to the advisability of abolishing the 40-hour week and overtime pay (TO, Stockholm, 22.3.42). Supporters of abolition maintain that "a 40-hour week cannot win the war" (TO, Lisbon, 26.2.42), but how unpopular the 48-hour week still is was clearly shown when, on February 28, the House of Representatives rejected, "amid great cheering," a proposal for the suspension of the 40-hour working week (Reuter, Washington, 28.2.42). The chief of the WPO himself advised against its revocation, pointing out that the majority of workers were already doing more than 40 hours. He advocated, however, an appeal to workers voluntarily to do their utmost to increase production (TO, Lisbon, 25.3.42). A similar stand was taken by Colonel Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, who declared at a Congressional hearing on April 14, 1942, that "suspension of the 40-hour week would cause confusion and hamper war production" (Havas, Washington, 14.4.42), and the US House Labor Committee, by a slim majority of 13 to 12 votes, rejected a proposed increase from 40 to 48 working hours on May 1, 1942 (TO, Lisbon, 2.5.42).

The President succeeded in pleasing Labor and armament industries at one and the same time when, on March 24, he declared himself to be opposed to giving up the legal 40-hour week (TO, Lisbon, 25.3.42), and, only four days later, signed a law providing for a 48-hour week in industries where it is considered indispensable (TO, Lisbon, 29.3.42).

Incidentally, Independence Day was declared a normal working day this year (TO, Lisbon, 28.6.42), which, all things considered, appears to be a very opportune decision at a time when the true significance of that day has so completely passed into oblivion.—R.S.

REVIEWS

BOOKS

China and Japan, Natural Friends—Unnatural Enemies, by Sun Yat-sen. (Shanghai, China United Press, 1941, 182 pp., US \$1.00)

Fundamentals of National Salvation, by Wang Ching-wei and others. (Shanghai, China United Press, 1942, 444 pp., CRB \$100.00)

Neues Deutschland, Deutscher Geist (New Germany, German Spirit), by Count Karlfried von Dürckheim-Montmartin. (Tokyo, Japanese-German Culture Institute Niigata, 1942, 170 pp., Yen 2.00)

The Portuguese Colony of Timor, by M. H. Gutterres. (Shanghai, 1942, 84 pp.)

If America Fights With Japan, The Pacific War Foretold Thirty-Three Years Ago, by Homer Lea. (Tokyo, The Hokuseido Press, 1942, 136 pp.)

China and Japan, edited by T'ang Leang-li, contains a collection of letters, interviews, addresses, and one essay on "The Vital Problem of China" by the Father of the Chinese Revolution and the first President of the Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. They reveal a personality of vision and, at the same time, a clear grasp of realities.

The essay, which was written in 1917 and deals with the question of whether China should allow Great Britain to involve her in the Great War, is particularly significant in the light of current events and is of equal interest today as it was when first published. Dr. Sun shows a remarkably keen insight into the real background of politics when, in his opposition to China's entry into the Great War, he writes: "To humiliate a handful of Germans remaining in China and then to pretend to have scored a victory is not only dangerous but also disgraceful and ridiculous . . . As far as China is concerned, strict observance of neutrality is the way to further her own interests and to preserve her own existence . . . For centuries Britain has followed unswervingly a certain policy, viz. a policy of seeking friends among those countries which can be sacrificed in order to further her own interests. China is suited to satisfy this purpose, and that is why Britain wants her for an ally." (pp. 43-60.)

The same keen realism is true of the rest of the contents, which make the book a valuable contribution to political literature. A foreword and an epilogue by President Wang Ching-wei, as well as General Itagaki's pamphlet "Japan to Assist, Not Oppress, China" (April 29, 1940), are included.

The main part of *The Fundamentals of National Salvation* is taken up by a detailed discussion of this theme by President Wang Ching-wei. Far from being an apologia, it impresses through its frankness and straightforwardness no less than through its profound patriotism. The book is prefaced by a short biographical sketch of the

President, written by the editor, T'ang Leang-li, as well as by an autobiography by the President himself. The book also contains a number of articles by T'ang Leang-li, Cheng Kung-po, and others, who deal with various aspects of the Peace Movement initiated by Wang Ching-wei. The appendix comprises a valuable collection of documents appertaining to the creation of a new China. Anyone interested in the recent developments in China will find the book an important source of information.

Neues Deutschland, Deutscher Geist is a collection of ten essays written by Count Dürckheim, who has contributed an article to this number of our magazine. In these essays, originally published in their Japanese translation, the author has attempted to clear away some misunderstandings which he has found in East Asia concerning questions relative to Germany and Europe. From the titles of some of his essays, viz., "Authority and Freedom," "Beauty and Nation," "The National Foundations of International Understanding," and "The Characteristics of the German Spirit," it can be seen that the author deals with profound philosophical questions. Realizing that the events taking place in Europe today have their source mainly in spiritual forces, the author analyzes them with care and originality. Being German, he deals primarily with the spiritual development of Germany.

The book is not easy reading, but it is an important contribution to the philosophic thought of our time, where old philosophic conceptions no longer suffice.—K.F.

Mr. M. H. Gutterres, a Portuguese resident of Shanghai, who is working on the history of the Portuguese colonies, has just published the first booklet, entitled *The Portuguese Colony of Timor*, of this series. Timor has been much in the news in connection with the Allied invasion of the Portuguese part of the island and the ensuing war developments affecting it. So a study offering information on history, nature, population, economics, communications, etc., of this part of the world is welcome. The appendix includes material on recent events, and there are many illustrations. The patriotic fervor of the author has caused him to weave a halo of romance and daring around the history of the island and its early settlers, in keeping with the pioneering spirit of those Portuguese who have enriched the pages of their country's colonial history.—M.C.R.

Usually the word "timely" is applied to a book that has just appeared. Homer Lea's book, however, is extremely timely although it was already published in the USA under the title of *The Valor of Ignorance* in 1909. The Hokuseido Press has done well to bring it back from oblivion and republish it in an abridged version. The timeliness



of the book is to be seen in the fact that, thirty-two years before the outbreak of the Pacific war, the author predicted its course up to now with astonishing accuracy and made some very interesting surmises regarding its further course. As early as 1909, Lea made a pronouncement which to most of his countrymen must have seemed utterly beyond reason: "National opulence is a source of danger instead of power." He explained this seeming paradox to his countrymen, first, by claiming that the wealth of the United States formed an attraction for the poorer nations, thus by its very existence providing a cause for war, and secondly, by the following interesting sentences:

"[Opulence] produces national effeminacy and effiteness, hence there spring up whole tribes of theorists, feminists and, in fact, all the necrophagans of opulent decadence. When wealth forms the criterion of all human ambitions, justice, emoluments, nay, of worth itself, then corruption sets in and patriotism departs."

He warns his countrymen that wealth might provide armaments, but not the morale necessary to a war. He predicts the probability of a defeat of the American fleet in the Pacific and the ensuing loss of the Philippines, Hawaii, Samoa, and Alaska. Since he reckons with the USA not being able to pursue war in a western Pacific controlled by the Japanese Navy, he believes that the war

between the USA and Japan will not be decided by the navy, but by the armies of both nations. Enumerating the weaknesses of the American army, he comes to the conclusion that, after the defeat of the American fleet, Japanese troops would be able to land on the American West Coast and conquer the states of Washington and Oregon.

The modern reader of this old book is struck above all by the passive attitude of its author. Although he analyzes the weaknesses shown by the American military system quite correctly and logically, he seems to be hypnotized by them and incapable of supplying an active thought or offering any suggestions toward rectifying those weaknesses he has pointed out. The author's pessimism is especially interesting at a time when his prophecies regarding the western Pacific have been fulfilled, and the lack of any activity, be it only on a mental level, on the part of American military quarters becomes more and more apparent.—B.P.

* * *

RECEIVED TOO LATE FOR REVIEW:

Freedom, July issue. (*Shanghai, The Asiana Publishing House, 1942, 52 pp., CRB \$5.00*)

Photo-News, special edition "Wehrmacht." (*Shanghai, New World Publishing Co., 1942, 33 pp., CRB \$5.00*)

JAPANESE MAGAZINES

FOR once we will disregard the weighty matters discussed in the magazines to turn our attention to the very smallest things to be found there, namely, the letters people write to the magazines about their experiences and complaints and the suggestions they have to offer to the community. These letters are not numerous, and you have to search for them carefully, but they are there. Like all small things they have a strange faculty of engraving themselves on the mind to outlast the memory of bigger events. While one may soon forget what the magazines say about *shisosen* (思想戦, war of thoughts) or similar popular problems, one may be haunted for days by the tiny world of the letter writers and their desire to eat more bullfrogs or to re-educate the grocery man at the corner. Here are some excerpts from this type of literature.

IN THE BUS

In a letter to the *Sekai Orai* a lady tells the following story: she had boarded a packed bus and was standing on the step with some luggage in her hands, whereupon a young man from inside the bus offered to hold the luggage for her. Later the writer herself succeeded in getting inside and was standing in front of a row of three students. Then the kind young man asked the students to draw closer together. They did this, but the resulting space was still too small for the lady to sit down. So the young man approached the students again, but the result of this second interference into the living-space of the students was more or less devastating. The young man was addressed with *kimi* (thou), which is about the worst thing that can happen between strangers, and had to swallow some other unpleasant remarks. The writer adds

that she felt badly about this incident the whole day, which shows the delicacy of the Japanese mind with regard to the very rare disturbances of the *kimochi* (気持ち, feeling, atmosphere) occurring in daily life.

NO WAR WITHOUT LAUGHTER

In a letter to the *Jikyoku Zasshi*, someone announces his determination to have a big laugh as soon as he finds time. He thinks that the newspaper and radio should provide more fun. They supply plenty of serious articles and speeches, but, if they could contrive to draw laughter from us at night, we would get up with redoubled strength next morning. "A nation that stops laughing is to be pitied." In concluding, the correspondent repeats his grim intention of having a mighty ha-ha in the very near future, and we can only hope that it has been the real thing.

SCHEMING FOR SPUDS

In a letter to the same magazine, someone lets out at the rucksack-wielding women who roam the countryside with a set purpose: "We are going to get vegetables aplenty!" The villages would gladly produce more eatables if there were more manpower handy, so the hiking go-getters should be induced to work in the fields. In this way townspeople willing to work in the green belt could reap the fruits of their own labors, and the towns would become more self-sufficient as regards vegetables. Practical experiences have shown that this plan works, the correspondent asserts.

"HATS OFF!"

In a letter to the *Bungei Shunju*, a correspondent remarks that in a certain department store the

of the book is to be seen in the fact that, thirty-two years before the outbreak of the Pacific war, the author predicted its course up to now with astonishing accuracy and made some very interesting surmises regarding its further course. As early as 1909, Lea made a pronouncement which to most of his countrymen must have seemed utterly beyond reason: "National opulence is a source of danger instead of power." He explained this seeming paradox to his countrymen, first, by claiming that the wealth of the United States formed an attraction for the poorer nations, thus by its very existence providing a cause for war, and secondly, by the following interesting sentences:

"[Opulence] produces national effeminacy and effiteness, hence there spring up whole tribes of theorists, feminists and, in fact, all the necrophagans of opulent decadence. When wealth forms the criterion of all human ambitions, justice, emoluments, nay, of worth itself, then corruption sets in and patriotism departs."

He warns his countrymen that wealth might provide armaments, but not the morale necessary to a war. He predicts the probability of a defeat of the American fleet in the Pacific and the ensuing loss of the Philippines, Hawaii, Samoa, and Alaska. Since he reckons with the USA not being able to pursue war in a western Pacific controlled by the Japanese Navy, he believes that the war

between the USA and Japan will not be decided by the navy, but by the armies of both nations. Enumerating the weaknesses of the American army, he comes to the conclusion that, after the defeat of the American fleet, Japanese troops would be able to land on the American West Coast and conquer the states of Washington and Oregon.

The modern reader of this old book is struck above all by the passive attitude of its author. Although he analyzes the weaknesses shown by the American military system quite correctly and logically, he seems to be hypnotized by them and incapable of supplying an active thought or offering any suggestions toward rectifying those weaknesses he has pointed out. The author's pessimism is especially interesting at a time when his prophecies regarding the western Pacific have been fulfilled, and the lack of any activity, be it only on a mental level, on the part of American military quarters becomes more and more apparent.—B.P.

* * *

RECEIVED TOO LATE FOR REVIEW:

Freedom, July issue. (*Shanghai, The Asiana Publishing House, 1942, 52 pp., CRB \$5.00*)

Photo-News, special edition "Wehrmacht." (*Shanghai, New World Publishing Co., 1942, 33 pp., CRB \$5.00*)

JAPANESE MAGAZINES

FOR once we will disregard the weighty matters discussed in the magazines to turn our attention to the very smallest things to be found there, namely, the letters people write to the magazines about their experiences and complaints and the suggestions they have to offer to the community. These letters are not numerous, and you have to search for them carefully, but they are there. Like all small things they have a strange faculty of engraving themselves on the mind to outlast the memory of bigger events. While one may soon forget what the magazines say about *shisosen* (思想戦, war of thoughts) or similar popular problems, one may be haunted for days by the tiny world of the letter writers and their desire to eat more bullfrogs or to re-educate the grocery man at the corner. Here are some excerpts from this type of literature.

IN THE BUS

In a letter to the *Sekai Orai* a lady tells the following story: she had boarded a packed bus and was standing on the step with some luggage in her hands, whereupon a young man from inside the bus offered to hold the luggage for her. Later the writer herself succeeded in getting inside and was standing in front of a row of three students. Then the kind young man asked the students to draw closer together. They did this, but the resulting space was still too small for the lady to sit down. So the young man approached the students again, but the result of this second interference into the living-space of the students was more or less devastating. The young man was addressed with *kimi* (thou), which is about the worst thing that can happen between strangers, and had to swallow some other unpleasant remarks. The writer adds

that she felt badly about this incident the whole day, which shows the delicacy of the Japanese mind with regard to the very rare disturbances of the *kimochi* (気持ち, feeling, atmosphere) occurring in daily life.

NO WAR WITHOUT LAUGHTER

In a letter to the *Jikyoku Zasshi*, someone announces his determination to have a big laugh as soon as he finds time. He thinks that the newspaper and radio should provide more fun. They supply plenty of serious articles and speeches, but, if they could contrive to draw laughter from us at night, we would get up with redoubled strength next morning. "A nation that stops laughing is to be pitied." In concluding, the correspondent repeats his grim intention of having a mighty ha-ha in the very near future, and we can only hope that it has been the real thing.

SCHEMING FOR SPUDS

In a letter to the same magazine, someone lets out at the rucksack-wielding women who roam the countryside with a set purpose: "We are going to get vegetables aplenty!" The villages would gladly produce more eatables if there were more manpower handy, so the hiking go-getters should be induced to work in the fields. In this way townspeople willing to work in the green belt could reap the fruits of their own labors, and the towns would become more self-sufficient as regards vegetables. Practical experiences have shown that this plan works, the correspondent asserts.

"HATS OFF!"

In a letter to the *Bungei Shunju*, a correspondent remarks that in a certain department store the

photographs of fallen heroes were not greeted by all passers-by in spite of the notice "Hats Off!" However this may be, the further criticism expressed by the correspondent seems very unjust, for he says that only half of the people passing the Yasukuni Shrine and other places of worship take their hats off. One has only to take a bus passing one of these spots in Tokyo to see that all passengers bow or take off their hats.

"WE WANT BOOKS!"

In another letter to the *Bungei Shunju*, someone expresses his joy over the fact that a reading fever has seized the country and that so many new books are being printed. But the *inaka* (country-) population should be enabled to participate in this wealth of information. Often an *inaka*-man unfolds his morning paper, sees an interesting new book advertised, and rushes to the bookstore to place his order; but quite often he is disappointed and is told that the customers in the big cities,

who are nearer to the source, have laid their hands on the new books, so that the wisdom-seeking *inaka*-people have to be on the lookout for the next ad. The correspondent confidently expects that some way will soon be found to satisfy the rustic bookworms.

THE IMPORTANCE OF RICE CAKES

The following is an extract from another letter to the *Bungei Shunju*: "When the Boys' Festival (May 5) was in sight I began to wonder what would become of our rice cakes this year. But we got them all right: the *tonarigumi* (neighborhood association) gave three to each household. As our family consists of five people not every one of us had his own rice cake, but the whole family prayed before the altar adorned with iris (and the rice cakes); so *ichi-oku isshin* (一億一心, a billion people, one heart) was brought about by three rice cakes, and the Boys' Festival became a transforming power for the nation."—P.

ON THE SCREEN

FATHER AND SON—FATHER AND DAUGHTER

"CHICHI-ARIKI" (There Was A Father). A Shochiku Film. Directed by Yasujiro Ozu. Principal players: Chishu Kasa, Shuji Sano, and Mitsuko Mito.

This is an artistic film depicting the lonely life of a middle-school teacher and his son. Owing to the accidental drowning of a pupil in his charge during a school excursion, the teacher resigns, holding himself responsible for the affair. With his son he returns to his native town and stays with a friend at a temple. The poetic atmosphere in the sentiment between father and son are described, and the scenes of the two taking a rest in an old castle or fishing in a mountain stream are done very naturally. The boy enters a middle school in a neighboring town as a boarder, and the father visits him one day to say good-bye, as he wants to go to Tokyo to find a job. The scene where the two have a farewell meal in a small restaurant is extremely moving. The love between father and son has never been depicted so well in Japanese films.

Some ten years later, the son graduates from university and becomes a teacher in a technical school in Akita Prefecture, while the father is still living alone as a clerk in a Tokyo factory. There the father meets an old friend, Hirata. Seeing Hirata's daughter (Mitsuko Mito), the wish grows in his heart that his son should marry her. Finally, one morning, while the son happens to be staying with his father, the latter dies of a sudden illness. With his last words, he asks Hirata's daughter to marry his son. Japan's national morality respects the will of a parent, and so the two young people get married.

Although the scenes of the father's death in a hospital are good, the film then skips to a scene in a train, showing the young couple going back to Akita, obviously hung on as a vague "happy ending" and therefore rather disappointing. The first half of the film is excellent, with a clean, typically Japanese touch. The director has done a good job with a story which, though undramatic, has drawing power. The acting of Chishu Kasa

as the father is remarkably good. *There Was A Father* stands a good chance of being ranked among the best ten Japanese films of the year.

"NINGEN-DOSHI" (Fellow Men). A Shochiku Film. Directed by Noboru Nakamura. Principal players: Michiko Kuwano, Makoto Saburi, Tatsuo Saito, and Reikichi Kawamura.

This is another story with a middle-class setting. After the death of his wife, the departmental head of a company leads quite a happy single life because of his affection for his daughter. But then he falls in love with a woman he knew as a girl. She is a widow, too, leading a lonely life and running a small restaurant. A young man employed in his department commits a serious mistake in a business deal. Because he knows his daughter is on friendly terms with this young man, the father takes the responsibility and resigns. The young man, thinking that his chief has ruined his life because of his contact with the widow, goes to her to remonstrate with her. From her he learns the true reason for his chief's resignation and feels deeply ashamed. The film ends with the indication that the young man and his chief's daughter are going to be married.

The most interesting thing about this film is the description of the daughter, who represents an aspect of the modern Japanese young woman. For instance, she sympathizes with her father in his lonely life and positively advises him to marry the widow. In contrast to her, the young man is shown as a coarse, brusque type. Among the actors, Tatsuo Saito as the father is the most convincing. Beside him, Reikichi Kawamura, a well-known supporting player, is very good as an intimate friend of the father and gets many a laugh for his humorous acting.

The film, which was directed by a new man, rather lacks compactness, which is a pity, since the story is quite original. *Fellow Men* does not exceed the level of the ordinary Japanese film.—H.T.



DOCUMENTS

The problem of the French men-of-war anchored at Alexandria has led to a grave new tension between France and the USA. As in the case of British aggression against Madagascar, Laval published the notes which had been exchanged between Vichy and Washington.

The French ships have been anchored for the last two years at Alexandria and, with the approaching possibility of the Germans occupying this port, the French Government gave orders to Admiral Godefroy to transfer the French ships to the nearest French port if the British should evacuate Alexandria. It simultaneously informed the German, Italian, and American Governments of this order.

On July 2, Vichy received the following answers from Germany and Italy:

The German High Command recognizes that the instructions given to the French naval forces in Alexandria are in conformity with the Armistice Convention. The German High Command pledges itself to abide by Article 8 of the said Convention in respect of any French warships which the Germans might find at Alexandria. This provision will be applied if the instructions forwarded by the French Government have been complied with.

The Italian Government has decided to abide by the Armistice Convention and does not intend to lodge any claims upon the French warships at Alexandria in whatever condition these warships may be.

One day later the answer from Washington arrived. It reads:

The President of the United States is deeply concerned over the fate of the French warships lying at Alexandria and is highly desirous that the said warships do not fall into the hands of German or Italian military or naval authorities.

The President is also highly desirous to see these warships returned to France after the war. He has been in contact with the British Government and submits the following proposal to the French Government:

The President proposes that the French warships lying at Alexandria be placed under the protective custody of the United States. This measure would entail the passage of French warships through the Suez Canal to and their arrival at a distant harbor where they would find an assured shelter for the duration of the war.

Such a shelter might be provided by a port in the United States or in any other American Republic. The restitution of the French warships after the end of the war will be guaranteed by the United States.

The President believes that it is in France's interests to accept this proposal. However, if his offer were to be rejected, the British Government would naturally be entirely justified in giving the French warships orders to go through the Suez Canal. If the French naval squadron were to

refuse to obey these orders, the British Government would be justified in destroying these warships in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. For the honor of France the President hopes that this reasonable proposal will be accepted.

In spite of verbal remonstrances by Mr. Laval to the American Chargé d'Affaires, President Roosevelt maintained his position and confirmed his approval of the American note. On July 7 the French Government gave the following reply:

The French Government has taken cognizance of the American memorandum of July 3 dealing with the question of the French naval squadron at Alexandria. The proposals contained in that memorandum were so unacceptable that the French Government could only believe, as M. Laval informed the American Chargé d'Affaires on July 3, that the United States Government had drafted this note prior to having been informed of the stand taken by the German and Italian Governments on that problem. Both Berlin and Rome declared that they would abide by the provisions of the Armistice Convention and would present no claim on the French warships lying at Alexandria. The texts of the German and Italian answers were forwarded to the American Government on July 2.

In a verbal statement, the American Chargé d'Affaires informed the French Government on July 5 that the American Government maintained the terms of its communication of July 3. This confirmation allowed the French Government to appreciate all the seriousness of the statements contained in the said document. The French Government rejects the American proposals, which are contrary to the honor and to the interests of France.

The American Government knows very well that the French Government desires to maintain the French flag over the warships lying at Alexandria as well as over all other ships under its name. The French Government also intends to satisfy itself as regards the safety of its warships.

The American Government is also aware that, contrary to the allegations of certain propaganda, the French Government has never delivered or intended to deliver any of its ships to foreign powers.

The American Government was informed of the decision taken by the German and Italian Governments. Consequently it cannot believe that the French warships at Alexandria may fall into the hands of the German or Italian authorities. The correct tone and the extreme clarity of the Italian and German answers should have prevented the United States Government from taking an attitude

which constitutes an insult to the French Government.

If the American Government only desired, as it pretended, to safeguard the interests of the French Government, it would not have refused to allow the French warships to leave Alexandria and go to the nearest French port. The American Government, in demanding that our warships be directed towards an American harbor, voices a proposal which is absolutely contrary to the obligations imposed upon France by the Armistice Convention. Furthermore, it insults the dignity of the French Government, which cannot accept that its word be doubted at the very moment when it asserts its desire to maintain under French flag the warships which belong to the French Government.

The French Government takes note of the fact that the American Government would consider the destruction of French warships at Alexandria as justified if these warships refuse to obey orders from the British High Command. The French Government wants to point out once more the extreme gravity of the consequences which would result from any act of violence which may be committed at Alexandria against the French naval forces. The French Government regrets to see that President Roosevelt takes his share in the heavy responsibilities of those who contemplate taking criminal action against a disarmed naval squadron in violation of military honor. The French Government hopes that the American people have not forgotten the painful episode of the British attack against French warships at Oran in July 1940.

On July 11 the American Chargé d'Affaires handed to President Pierre Laval a new note which read as follows :

President Roosevelt proposes that, if the French Government agrees to the withdrawal of the French warships from Alexandria through the Suez Canal, free passage will be granted these ships from Suez to Martinique. In this latter colony the ships will

not be used either by the British or the American Governments. They will be immobilized for the duration of the war under the same conditions as the French warships at present lying at Fort de France. Assurances will be given that the French warships will be returned to France at the end of the war. The American and British Governments have agreed that the sailors of these warships will be repatriated under the conditions which prevailed while the ships were at Alexandria.

The President proposes that this arrangement be concluded without considering the position of Alexandria, as the French warships in this harbor are in any case exposed to attack at present.

On July 13 President Laval rejected these proposals on the following grounds: first, the Franco-German and Franco-Italian Armistice Convention stipulates expressly that all French warships wherever they may be must make for a French port. Secondly, the clause of the Franco-Italian Convention specifies that the harbors where the ships are to assemble must be in metropolitan France. Thirdly, Germany and Italy pledge themselves to abide by the Armistice Convention and not to seize the French warships at Alexandria.

During the last two years the provision by which the German and Italian Governments undertook the obligation to respect France's rights with regard to her fleet was scrupulously adhered to, and France on her side has no grounds for renouncing this article of the Convention.

On the other hand, Great Britain made public her intention to sink the ships of Admiral Godefroy's squadron if France were to reject the proposals forwarded by Washington.

As the American Government made it clear that it approved the British decision, the French Government puts upon the American Government the responsibility for such an act, the consequences of which would be of an extremely serious nature. (Havas Telemondial, July 17, 1942.)